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The Camelot Series; edited by Ernest Rhys. The Pentameron and other Imaginary Conversations, by Walter Savage Landor: edited, with a Preface, by Havelock Ellis. London: Walter Scott. 1889.

The Sâyana-Pañchâṅg, Saka-Samvat 1811; A.D. 1889-90. Satyaśôdhaka Press; Ratnâgiri.

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EXTRACTS FROM KALHANA'S RAJATARAMGINI.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; BANGALORE.

No. 1.—EXTRACTS FROM THE FIRST TARAMGA.

THE **Râjataraṁgiṇî, or River of Kings, of Kalhaṇa,** has always attracted a great deal of attention, partly because it is the only historical work of its kind in the Sanskrit language, but more especially because it claims to give a consecutive account of **the Kings of Kaśmîr** from almost the very earliest times.

Until recent years, however, **the text** of it has been available to us only in the not very accurate editions published — at **Calcutta, in 1835, by the Paṇḍits of the Bengal Asiatic Society,** containing the whole eight Taraṁgas; with the *Dvitîyâ Râjataraṁgiṇî* of Jônarâja; the *Tṛitîyâ Jaina-Râjataraṁgiṇî* of Srîvarapaṇḍita, a pupil of Jônarâja; the *Râjâvali-Patâkâ*, or *Chaturthî Râjataraṁgiṇî*, of Prâjyabhaṭṭa; and the *Râjataraṁgiṇî-Saṁgraha*:— **and at Paris, in 1840, by M. Troyer,** containing the first six Taraṁgas of the *Râjataraṁgiṇî* itself.

As regards **translations, in 1825,** in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. pp. 1 to 119, in his "Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir," **Prof. H. H. Wilson** gave an abstract account of the contents of Taraṁgas i. to vi. **In 1852, M. Troyer** completed a French Translation of the whole eight Taraṁgas. **Prof. Lassen** has given an analysis of the entire work in his *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. II. And **in 1879 and 1887, Jogesh Chunder Dutt** published at Calcutta an English translation of Kalhaṇa's work, which is at least useful in helping to facilitate references to the original text.

And, in the matter of **the adjustment of Kalhaṇa's chronology, Prof. H. H. Wilson** considered the subject in the remarks attached to his abstract account; and **Gen. Sir A. Cunningham** has dealt with it in 1843, in his paper on "The Ancient Coinage of Kaśmîr," in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. VI. pp. 1 to 38. But no very satisfactory results, at least for the earlier period, have as yet been attained. As good an illustration of this as can be wished for, is to be found in connection with king **Mihirakula.** His initial date, as deduced from the *Râjataraṁgiṇî* itself, is Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 2397 expired, or B. C. 704; and the end of his reign, seventy years later. Prof. H. H. Wilson brought him down to B. C. 200 (*loc. cit.* p. 31). And Gen. Sir A. Cunningham arrived at the conclusion that he should be placed in A.D. 163 (*loc. cit.* p. 18). With the help, however, of newly discovered inscriptions, which are the only really safe guide, **Mr. Fleet** (*ante*, Vol. XV. p. 252) has now shewn that **his true date was in the beginning of the sixth century A.D.;** that as nearly as possible the commencement of his career was in A.D. 515; and that A.D. 530, or very soon after, was the year in which his power in India was overthrown, after which he proceeded to Kaśmîr and established himself there. This illustrates very pointedly the extent of the adjustments that will have to be made in Kalhaṇa's earlier details; and furnishes us with a **definite point from which the chronology may be regulated** backwards and forwards for a considerable time. **A similar earlier point** is provided by Kalhaṇa's mention, in Taraṁga i. verse 168, of the Turushka king **Kanishka,** who, according to his account, was anterior by two reigns to B. C. 1182,—the date of the accession of Gônanda III.,—but who is undoubtedly the king Kanishka from the commencement of whose reign in all probability runs the Śaka era, commencing in A.D. 77. And **a still earlier point** is furnished by the mention of king **Aśôka** in Taraṁga i. verse 101. According to Kalhaṇa, he stood five reigns before B. C. 1182. But it can hardly be doubted that he is intended for the great Buddhist king Aśôka, whose accession has now been shewn by Gen. Sir A. Cunningham to have been in B. C. 260 (*Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. I. Preface, p. vii.). This question of adjustment is one that I shall not at present enter upon. And I will here only remark that the earliest lists evidently include, as consecutive kings, many persons who, if they existed at all, were only ancestors or other relatives of actual kings of Kaśmîr, and did not themselves occupy the throne; that the introduction of the names of such persons after a break in the direct succession, of course

necessitated forcing back the date of the immediately preceding actual king in each instance to a period long before the true one; and that no completely satisfactory solution can be arrived at, until we are able to determine which of the names have to be eliminated on these grounds.

The first step towards the acquisition of a reliable text of the poem was made by **Dr. Bühler,** who visited Kaśmîr in 1875, and obtained there a complete Śârada MS. of the *Rajataraṁgiṇî* itself, which is now in the Bombay Government Collection; a collation of another MS., which he has kindly placed at my disposal; some explanatory treatises and abstracts; and some MSS. of the *Nîlamata-Purâṇa* and other connected works. His valuable report was published in 1877, as an Extra Number of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. And an extract from it, pp. 52 to 60, referring specially to the *Râjataraṁgiṇî*, and including a translation of verses 1 to 107 of the first Taraṁga, pp lxvi. to lxxxii., has been printed in this Journal, Vol. VI. pp. 264 to 274. From the materials collected by him, with some others obtained by myself during **my own visit to Kaśmîr** in 1885, I am preparing a new edition of the text. But the completion of it, of course, is a work of time. And meanwhile, at the desire and with the support of Mr. Fleet, I propose giving in this Journal translations of some of the earlier portions of the book.[1]

Kalhaṇa's narrative opens with a fragmentary account of 52 kings, who were supposed to have reigned for 1266 years. **The earliest definite starting-point taken by him** is the coronation of Yudhishthira; his authority for which (verse 56) is a verse given by Varâhamihira in the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, xiii. 3, as being according to the opinion of Vṛiddha-Garga:—"When king Yudhishṭhira ruled the earth, the (*seven*) seers (*i.e.* the constellation Urṣa Major) were in (*the nakshatra*) Maghâḥ; the Śaka era (*is*) 2526 (*years*) (*after the commencement*) of his reign." Accordingly, **the coronation of Yudhishṭhira** took place 2526 years before the commencement of the Śaka era, or at the expiration of Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 653 (verse 51), and in B.C. 2448. Kalhaṇa himself was writing (verse 52; *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 213) in Śaka-Saṁvat 1071 current, *i.e.* in A.D. 1148-49:—"At this present moment, in the twenty-fourth Laukika year (*of the popular Kaśmîrî reckoning by cycles of a hundred years*), there have gone by one thousand years, increased by seventy, of the Śaka era." And, as **an intermediate point,** but how arrived at he does not explain, he had **the accession of the fifty-third king, Gônanda III.,** which took place "on the whole," *i.e.* roughly, 2330 years before his own time, *i.e.* in B.C. 1182.

He then proceeded thus:—

Coronation of Yudhishṭhira before the Śaka era	2526	years;	verse	56.
Add the years of the Śaka era expired up to the time when Kalhaṇa was writing	1070	,,	,,	52.
	3596			
Deduct the years expired from the accession of Gônanda III. up to the same time	2330	,,	,,	53.
Remainder, the duration of the period of the first fifty-two kings ...	1266	,,	,,	54.

He thus obtained 1266 years for the 52 kings in question; his own words (verse 54) being—"Hence I am of opinion that 1266 years are comprised in the sum of the reigns of the 52 kings."[2] And he made the first of these fifty-two kings, Gônanda I., a contemporary of Yudhishṭhira.

[1] I shall use the following abbreviations in my notes:—
P = the Śârada MS., No 170 of Dr. Buhler's Kaśmîr Collection, preserved in the Deccan College, Poona. I owe the use of this most important MS. to the kindness of Mr. Chatfield, Director of Public Instruction.
C = the Calcutta edition.
T = Troyer's edition.
K. R. = Dr. Bühler's Detailed Report of a Tour in Kaśmîr, &c.; Bombay, 1877.
A. G. = Gen. Sir A. Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, Vol. I.; London, 1871.

[2] See also Dr. Bühler's Report (quoted hereafter as K. R., p. lxxv.), in the note to which the details are explained in a different manner, but with the same result. Verse 54 seems to contain the conclusion which Kalhaṇa drew from verses 51 to 53. I take *tat* in the sense of *tasmât*, 'hence'; and I supply *mayâ* with *matâ*, which is the reading of the Śârada MS.

The fifty-two rulers in question are as follows:—

LIST OF THE KINGS OF KASMIR.

I. **Four rulers** whose names are taken from the *Nîlamata-Purâṇa* ..... verse 16

1. **Gônanda I.** ..... ,, 57

He is made by Kalhaṇa a contemporary of Yudhishṭhira in B. C. 2448. At the call of his relative, Jarâsaṁdha, he besieged Mathurâ, the city of Kṛishṇa on the banks of the Kâlindî, *i.e.* the Jamnâ, and vanquished the descendants of Yadu (59, 60). But subsequently he himself was slain by the Yâdava leader Lâṅgaladhvaja, *i.e.* Balarâma (61 to 63).

2. **Dâmôdara I.**, son of the preceding ..... ,, 64

He, in order to revenge his father's death, attacked the Vṛishṇis (or Yâdavas), who had been invited to a *svayaṁvara* by the Gândhâras (65 to 68), and was killed in battle by Kṛishṇa (69).

3. **Yaśôvatî**, widow of the preceding ..... ,, 70

Dâmôdara I. died before a son was born to him; and Yaśôvatî, being pregnant, was installed at the advice of Kṛishṇa (70), and in due course of time bore a son (74).

4. **Gônanda II.**, son of Dâmôdara I. and Yaśôvatî ..... ,, 76

He was named after his grandfather (76). He was the contemporary of the Kurus and Pâṇḍavas; but, on account of his infancy, he took no part in the war between them (82).

II. 5 to 39. **Thirty-five kings whose names are lost** ..... ,, 83

III. **Eight kings** recorded by Padmamihira on the authority of Hêlârâja's *Pârthivâvali* ..... ,, 17f.

40. **Lava** ..... ,, 84

He founded the town of Lôlôra (86),—still existent in the Lôlâb Parganâ (K. R. p. lxxix. note),—and gave to Brâhmaṇs the *agrahâra* of Lêvâra on the river Lêdarî (87), *i.e.* the modern Lîdar, the principal northern tributary of the Vitastâ, which it joins near Bîjbihâra (*loc. cit.*)

41. **Kuśa**, son of the preceding ..... ,, 88

He presented the *agrahâra* of Kuruhâra (88), which is supposed to be the modern Kular in the Dachhinpara Parganâ (*loc. cit.*)

42. **Khagêndra**, son of the preceding ..... ,, 89

He established the two principal *agrahâras*, Khâgi and Khônamusha (90), *i.e.* the modern Kâkapur and Khunmôh (*loc. cit.*)

43. **Surêndra**, son of the preceding ..... ,, 91

He founded, on the frontier of the Darad country (or Dardistân), a city named Sôraka and a *vihâra* named Narêndrabhavana (93); also, in his own territory, a *vihâra* named Sôrasa (94).[3] He died without leaving issue (95).

44. **Gôdhara**, of another family ..... ,, 95

He presented to Brâhmaṇs the *agrahâra* of Hastiśâlâ (96), which seems to be now known as Asthîhil (*loc. cit.*)

45. **Suvarṇa**, son of the preceding ..... ,, 97

He diverted the Suvarṇamahâkulyâ, — the modern brook Sunnamayâ in the Âḍhvan Parganâ (*loc. cit.*), — and caused it to flow in (the

[3] P reads सोरक and सोरस, instead of सौ० in C and T.

district of) Karâla (97), which seems intended for the Âḍhvan Pargaṇâ (*loc. cit.*)

46. **Janaka,** son of the preceding ..... verse 98

He founded the *vihâra* and *agrahâra* named Jâlôra (98), — identified by the Kaśmîrîs with the modern Zâvur, near Zêvan (*loc. cit.*)

47. **Sachînara,** son of the preceding ..... ,, 99

He founded the two *agrahâras* of Śamâṅgâsa[4] and Aśanâra, which are supposed to be respectively the modern Śvâṅgas in the Kôṭahâra Pargaṇâ, and Chrâr (*loc. cit.*) He died without leaving any issue (100).

IV. **Five kings** mentioned by the author of the *Śrîchhavillâ* ..... ,, 19f.

48. **Aśôka,** son of the son's son of Śakuni, and son of the paternal grand-uncle of Śachînara ..... ,, 101

He adopted the religion of Jina (*i.e.* Buddha), and covered Śashkalêtra and Vitastâtra, — the modern Hoklitr and Vêthvôtr in the Dêvasar Pargaṇâ (*loc. cit.*), — with numerous *stûpas* (102). He built a *chaitya* at the city of Vitastâtrapura, within the precincts of the Dharmâraṇya-vihâra (103). He founded the city of Śrînagarî (104), — apparently not quite identical with the present capital of Kaśmîr (*loc. cit.* p. 1 xxxi. note). Also he removed the old brick enclosure of the temple of Vijayêśa (at Bijbihâra), and built a new one of stone (105); and within the precincts of that temple, and near it, he built two other temples named Aśôkêśvara (106). Then the country was overrun by the Mlêchchhas; and he obtained from Bhûtêśa a son, the Jalauka of the next verse, in order to destroy them (107).

49. **Jalauka I.,** son of the preceding ..... ,, 108

He was a constant worshipper at Vijayêśvara, the modern Bîjbihâra (A. G. 98f.), at Nandîśakshêtra, elsewhere called Nandikshêtra, in the Lâr Pargaṇâ (K R. lxxii. note), and at Jyêshṭhêśa (113). He expelled the Mlêchchhas, breaking their power at a place named Ujjhaṭaḍimba (116). He conquered Kânyakubja, *i.e.* Kanauj (117). He reformed the administration of Kaśmîr, by establishing regular courts of law (118 to 120). He founded Vâravâla and other *agrahâras* (121). At Dvâra,—*i.e.* the Pass of Varâhamûla, the modern Bâramûla,—and at other places, his queen Îśînadêvî established shrines of the Divine Mothers (122). He paid worship to Nandîśa at the spring of Sôdara (123); consecrated the temple of Jyêshṭharudra at Śrînagarî (124); built a stone temple at Nandikshêtra and worshipped Bhûtêśa (148); diverted the river Kanakavâhinî (150); and died at the *tîrtha* of Chîramôchana (151). In connection with him there are allusions to the Nâgas (111, 114). Also to the Bauddhas or Buddhists. The latter, described as being very powerful at that time, were vanquished in his reign by the magician Avadhûta (112). They were subsequently oppressed by the king himself (136), who wantonly destroyed one of their *vihâras* (140). The Bôdhisattvas then deputed the goddess Kṛityâ, one of the (six) Kṛittikâs or Pleiades, who induced him to make reparation by building a

[4] P reads शमाङ्गासा°, like C and T.

Buddhist *vihâra*, which he named Kṛityâśrama, and in which he set up a statue of Kṛityâ (131 to 147).

50. Dâmôdara II. ..... verse 153

It is not known whether he belonged to the house of Aśôka, or to another family (153). He was a worshipper of the god Mahêśvara (Śiva) (154). He built a long causeway named Guddasêtu across the swamp called Sûda Dâmôdarîya (156, 157) or Dâmôdarasûda (167), and other stone causeways, to stop inundations (159).

Then there intervened the reigns of Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka ..... „ 168

These kings were of the Turushka race, nevertheless they built *mathas, chaityas*, &c., at Sushkalêtra and other places (170). During their long reigns, Kaśmîr was for the most part in possession of the Bauddhas (171). Each of them built a town, named after himself (168); *i.e.* Hushkapura, Jushkapura, and Kanishkapura,—identified by Sir A. Cunningham with the modern Ushkar, Zukru, and Kâmpur (A. G. 99 ff); also Jushka, who founded Jushkapura with its *vihâra*, built the town of Jayasvâmipura (169).

51. Nâgârjuna, Bôdhisattva ..... „ 173

His connection with any of his predecessors is not explained. His accession was when one hundred and fifty years had expired from the *parinirvâna* of Buddha (172); this, however, would really be in B. C. 328, long after the time to which Kalhaṇa refers him, and before the real time of his supposed predecessor, Aśôka. He resided at Shaḍarhadvana, 'the grove of the six Arhats' (173). He encouraged the Bauddhas (177).

52. Abhimanyu ..... „ 174

He granted the *agrahâra* of Kaṇṭakôtsa (174), and founded the town of Abhimanyupura, at which he built a temple of Śiva, named after himself (175). In his time, Chandrâchârya and others brought the Mahâbhâshya into use, and composed their own grammar (176). In his reign the Bauddhas became powerful, and stopped the rites ordained by the *Nîla-Purâṇa* (177, 178) Then the Nâgas attacked the Bauddhas, and distressed them by causing every year a heavy fall of snow; until at length a Brâhmaṇ, Chandradêva, practised austerities, the result of which was that Nîla appeared to him, stopped the plague of snow, and re-established his own rites (179 to 184)

As regards **the third part of the above list**, a few words may be added, in order to shew its entire worthlessness for historical purposes. Padmamihira, or Hêlârâja, seems to have tried to connect the name of each of these eight kings with the name of some locality in Kaśmîr that happened to begin with the same initial. Thus, Lava is said to have founded the town of Lôlôra, and to have granted the *agrahâra* of Lêvâra; and Kuśa is mentioned as bestowing the *agrahâra* of Kuruhâra; and so on. The question of **popular etymology** at once suggests itself. And we cannot help suspecting that **the names of the kings are nothing but pure inventions**, taken from, and intended to account for, the names of real localities which otherwise could not be easily explained.

With these preliminary remarks, I will now take up the translation at the point where Dr. Buhler left off —

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 108) Then this (*son of Aśôka*) **Jalauka (I.)** (*by name*), a (*very*) Indra on earth, who purified the world with the whitewash of his fame, became king. — (109) Verily, even the gods are taught (*for the first time*) to be astonished, when the tales of his divine power reach their ears. — (110) For surely, he would have been able to fill the void of the mundane egg with his gifts of gold, as the magic fluid (*which he possessed*) traced (*i e.* enabled him to discover) crores (*of hidden treasures*). — (111) Having charmed the water (*i.e.* having attained the magic power of living under water), he entered the lakes of **the Nâgas,** and seduced the youthful daughters of the hooded serpents. — (112) A magician (*named*) Avadhûta, who vanquished the crowd of the votaries of the **Bauddha** (*doctrine*) who were very powerful at that time taught him the knowledge (*of magic*). — (113) This veracious king had made a vow that he would always worship (*at*) **Vijayêśvara, Nandîśakshêtra,** and **Jyêshṭhêśa.** — (114) **A Nâga,** who was his friend, would not allow (*him*) to travel by (*relays of*) horses which were kept ready in every village, but used to convey him always himself. — (115) After this hero had expelled **the Mlêchchhas,** who obstructed the earth, he conquered the earth whose girdle is the ocean, by victorious expeditions. — (116) Even now the place where **those Mlêchchhas,** who had overrun the country, were deranged (*ujjhaṭita*) by him, is called **Ujjhaṭaḍimba** by the people. — (117) Having conquered **Kânyakubja** and other (*parts of the*) earth, he introduced thence into his own country (*people of*) the four castes and legal practitioners. — (118, 119) Like a common country, **the kingdom (of Kaśmîr)** had not reaped the due benefit of judicial administration, property, &c. For hitherto there had been (*only*) seven departments in this country,—the overseer of justice, the overseer of property, the overseer of the treasure, the commander of the army, the messenger, the domestic priest, and the astrologer. — (120) Establishing eighteen courts of law, the king introduced from that time a state of affairs that was worthy of Yudhishthira. — (121) With the wealth which he had acquired by valour and might, this liberal (*prince*) founded **Vâravâla** and other *agrahâras.* — (122) At **Dvâra** and other places, his noble queen **Îśânadêvî** established powerful circles of the (*divine*) Mothers.—(123) Having heard the *Nandi-Purâṇa* from a pupil of Vyâsa, the king paid worship to **Sôdara,** &c., out of devotion to Nandîśa. — (124) (*Even*) when he consecrated (*the temple of*) Jyêshṭharudra at **Srînagarî,** he did not think (*it possible to shew*) devotion to Nandîśa without (*worshipping*) **Sôdara.**—(125, 126) Once upon a time, when the pressure of work had made him forget his daily rites, and while he was distressed by the impossibility of bathing in the distant waters of **Sôdara,** he

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108 सोथ भूभृज्जलौको P. यशःसुधया P T.

109 आश्चर्याचार्यतां P. 110 हर्तु P. हेमाण्डस्य P C. 112 °प्रेद्धबौद्ध° P.

113 Vijayêśvara is the modern Bijbihâra; see A. G. p. 98f. Nandîśakshêtra is elsewhere called Nandikshêtra; on its site, see Dr. Bühler's note on verse 36, where P reads हरा° instead of सुरावासप्रासादे. On Jyêshthêśa, see note on verse 124, below.

114 स्वेनावहत्तं P.

115 Kalhaṇa places the arrival of the Mlêchchhas in the reign of Aśôka; see verse 107.

116 The readings of P agree with those of T. 117 कान्य° P

119 The original titles are *Dharmâdhyaksha, Dhanôdhyaksha, Kôśâdhyaksha, Chamûpati, Dûta, Purôdhas,* and *Daivajña.*

120 *karmasthâna* seems to mean elsewhere 'a public building;' see iv. 587, 588; v. 166; vii. 210, 569 (571 of the Calcutta Edition) The eighteen law-courts (*karmasthânâni dharmyâni*), which Jalauka is supposed to have founded, are probably derived from the eighteen kinds of law-suits mentioned by Manu, viii. 3 to 7.

121 °नुदारधीः P.

122 Dvâra, 'the Gate,' is the pass of Varâhamûla, the modern Bâramûla; see K. R. p. 12 and note on verse 31 — The 'circles or rings of the Mothers' (*mâtṛichakrâni*) are elsewhere mentioned by Kalhaṇa in connection with temples of Śiva; see Böhtlingk and Roth, s. v *mâtṛichakra.* The synonym *dêvîchakra* occurs at i. 333.

123 From the subsequent passage it appears that Sodara was the name of the holy spring at Nandikshêtra, the shrine of Nandîśa or Nandirudra (verse 127).

124 Jyêshtharudra is called Jyêshthêśa in verse 113. General Cunningham, A. G. p. 95, identifies it with the temple on the Takht; but see K. R. p. 17.

125 °भावना° P. 126 वर्णास्वादा° P.

perceived that from a waterless place water was suddenly rising, which agreed with (*the water of*) **Sôdara** in colour, taste, and other qualities. — (127) Then the proud (*king*) was able to satisfy his devotion to Nandirudra, by bathing in that spring which had (*thus*) appeared. — (128, 129) When an empty gold vase, with a lid on its mouth, which he threw into **Sôdara** for the purpose of a test, emerged two and half days later from the water which rose at **Srînagarî**, the doubts of the king were removed. — (130) Surely, it was Nandîśa himself who had come down in order to enjoy the offerings (*of the king*). Otherwise, such an event, which had never been seen (*before*), would not have taken place before (*his*) eyes. — (131) One day, when the king went to **Vijayêśvara**, a woman, who was walking on the road, asked him for food. — (132) After he had promised to give her whatever food she wished, she changed her appearance (*so as to assume the form of a female ghoul*), and expressed a desire for human flesh. — (133) When he, who had ceased to hurt living beings, gave her permission to eat flesh from his own body, she spoke thus: — (134) "You, O magnanimous king, are a Bôdhisattva, whose vows are strong on account of virtue (*sattva*), as your compassion with living beings is so great." — (135) The king, who, being a worshipper of Śiva, did not know the language of the **Bauddhas**, said to her,—"Who, sweet mistress, is the Bôdhisattva, for whom you take me?" — (136) She answered the king:—"Hear my message; I am sent by the **Bauddhas**, whom, out of anger, you have oppressed. — (137) "We are the (*six*) Pleiades (*Kṛittikâḥ*), who live on the flank of the Lôkâlôka mountain, who are full of sin (*tamas*), and who have made the Bôdhisattvas their only refuge, in order to be freed from sin. — (138) "You must know that Bôdhisattvas are certain beings, who, since (*the time of*) the blessed lord of the world (Buddha), have got rid of lust (*kléśa*) in (*this*) world. — (139) "Eager to rescue the universe, they are not angry even with an offender, but benefit him patiently and will guide him to the knowledge (*bôdhi*) of his own self.—(140 to 144) "When, lately, disturbed in your sleep by the noise of the instruments of a *vihâra*, and instigated by wicked persons, you destroyed (*that*) *vihâra* out of anger, I, (*attracted by the power of*) the meditations of the angry **Bauddhas**, had set out to kill you. (*But*) then the Bôdhisattvas, having called me, gave me the following instructions:—'You are unable to hurt that virtuous prince; but at his sight, O happy woman, your sins will be destroyed. In our name ask him, who was led into sin by the wicked, to build a *vihâra*, providing all requisites from his gold. If this were built, no further) slaughter at the destruction of *vihâras* would take place; and he and his instigators would have made atonement.' — (145) "Therefore, in this disguise, I have put your great virtue to the test. Now my sins are destroyed. Farewell! I take my departure." — (146) After the king had promised to build a *vihâra*, the goddess Kṛityâ, whose eyes were beaming with joy, disappeared. — (147) Then, having built a *vihâra* (*called*) **Kṛityâśrama**, the prince caused (*a statue of*) the goddess Kṛityâ, whose sins were removed, to be erected on that same spot (*where he had met her.*) — (148) Having built a temple of stone at **Nandikshêtra**, the prince paid to Bhûtêśa worship in the shape of jewels together with (*other*) treasures. — (149, 150) Practising austerities for a series of nights at the *tîrtha* of **Chîramôchana**, sitting in the (*posture called*) *brahmâsana*, his body motionless in meditation, the king accomplished at last his desire of reaching Nandîśa by the pious work (*of conducting the river*) **Kanakavâhinî**. — (151) One hundred of the ladies of his harem, who had risen to dance out of joy, he gave to Jyêshtharudra at the (*very*) moment of dancing and singing — (152) Having enjoyed supernatural power, and having finally entered **Chîramôchana**, the king, together with his wife, attained union with Śiva.

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127 पर्याप्ति° P T. 133 °हिंसा° P C. मांसं for दातुं P.

136 ह्युत्थापिता P. 137 °स्तामस्यः P 138 गतक्लेशा P T

139 नेष्यन्ति P C. विश्वोद्धर° P. 141 महासत्त्वः P. 144 अनुशिष्टा P.

147 कृत्याश्रमं P T. कृत्यां देवीमबन्धयत् P. 148 समं P T

150 Kalhana attributes similar works to other kings. Thus Suvarṇa diverted or conducted (*pravartayati*) the Suvarnamaṇikulyâ to Karâla (i. 97) and Mihirakula conducted (*avatârayati*) the Chandrakulyâ river (i. 318)

151 °नृत्त° P. 152 प्रविष्टश्चीर° P.

(153) Then a prince called **Dâmôdara (II.)**, who was either a descendant of **the race of Asôka**, or was born of another family, protected the earth. — (154) Even now tales are told of the miraculous power of this (*king*), who was highly resplendent with superhuman faculties, and was the crest-jewel of the worshippers of Siva. — (155) (*The god*) Kuvêra himself concluded friendship with that happy and virtuous favourite of Siva. — (156) Being the foremost of kings, like Kuvêra, he ordered the Guhyakas, who obeyed his commands, to build the long (*causeway called*) **Guddasêtu.** — (157) By this causeway he sought to bridge the water at the town which he had built in the (*swamp called*) **Sûda Dâmôdârîya.** — (158) Since the good deeds of men (*in former births*) are limited, obstacles arise — alas! — to a man of lofty mind, who wishes to produce some uncommon beneficial work. — (159) For he strove to cause the Yakshas to build in his country long causeways of stone, in order to stop inundations.—(160) Inconceivable is the power of the austerities of mighty Brâhmaṇs, who will reverse the power even of such (*kings*). — (161) One has seen the fortune of kings rising again, after it had been destroyed by the power of an heir or of others; but if (*lost*) through contempt of Brâhmaṇs it will never return. — (162) Once the king, who was going to bathe on account of a *śrâddha*, was asked by some hungry Brâhmaṇs (*to give them*) food before bathing. — (163) When he, who wished to enter **the (river) Vitastâ,** refused (*to give them food until he had entered it*), they placed that river before him by their (*religious*) power. — (164) Although they told him—"Here is **the Vitastâ**; touch her, and feed us!" yet he believed that the river had been brought by (*sinful*) witchcraft (*and not by the righteous power of austerity*). — (165) When he said to them—"I will not give food without having bathed (*in the real river*); depart (*sarpata*), you Brâhmaṇs, at once!" they cursed him—"Become a serpent (*sarpa*)!" — (166) After he had implored them for mercy, they spoke—"Your curse will cease after you have heard the whole *Râmâyaṇa* in a single day, (*and not till then*)." — (167) Even now, when, out of thirst, he is rushing far into the (*swamp called*) **Dâmôdara-sûda,** people recognize him by the smoke of his breath, which is hot in consequence of the curse.

(168) Then there were three princes in that same (*country*), called **Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka,** who built three towns that were designated by their names. — (169) The pure-minded **Jushka,** the founder of **Jushkapura** with its *vihâra*, also built **Jayasvâmipura.**—(170) Though they were descendants of **a Turushka race,** these pious princes built *maṭhas*, *chaityas*, &c., at **Sushkalêtra** and other places. — (171) During the long period of their reigns, **the country of Kaśmîra** was, for the most part, in the possession of **the Bauddhas,** who had acquired great power by renouncing the world (*pravrajyâ*).

(172, 173) At that time, one hundred and fifty years had passed in this earthly sphere since the complete extinction (*parinirvṛiti*) of the divine Sâkyasiṁha (Buddha); and **a Bôdhisattva** became sole king in this country; this was the glorious **Nâgârjuna,** who resided at **Shaḍarhadvana.**

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155 °पात्रेण P

156 One of Kuvêra's names is Râjarâja, 'the king of kings'; he is the lord of the Yakshas or Guhyakas. गुह्यमेत° P

160 °योचिन्त्या P T 161 °बलात्रष्टा P

164 स्पृष्टैनां P °दाहतिम् P C 165 ददामि P. 166 च for ते P

168 Hushkapura, Jushkapura and Kanishkapura have been identified by General Cunningham with Ushkar, Zukru, and Kâmpur, see A. G p 99ff.

170 पुण्याशया P शुष्कलेत्रा° P C On Śushkalêtra, see Dr Bühler's note on verse 102.

171 कश्मीर P स्म for च P

172 नदा P पर° P T. अस्मिन्मही° P

173 °त्रेको P. म च P षडर्हद्वन° P T. According to Schiefner's *Tibetische Lebensbeschreibung Sâkyamuni's*, p 310, Nâgârjuna, the founder of the Mâdhyamika school, was born in the time of Kanishka Kalhaṇa agrees with this tradition in placing Nâgârjuna just after Kanishka. On the other hand, his report that Nâgârjuna became king of Kaśmîr, seems to be as fanciful as his assertion that he lived only 150 years after Buddha's *parinirvâṇa*.

(174) Then the fearless **Abhimanyu**, who was the donor of the *agrahâra* of **Kaṅṭakôtsa** became a paramount sovereign (*and thus*) appeared to be a second Indra. — (175) After this illustrious (*king*) had caused a (*temple of*) Śiva, which bore his name, to be built, he founded the extremely rich **(town of) Abhimanyupura.** — (176) **Chandrâchârya and others brought into use the Mahâbâhshya,** having obtained its traditional interpretation from another country, and composed their own grammar. — (177) At this juncture, **the Bauddhas,** who had been protected by the wise Bôdhisattva **Nâgârjuna**, became powerful in the country. — (178) Having defeated in controversy all wise disputants, these enemies of tradition stopped the rites proclaimed in the *Nîla-Purâṇa*. — (179) **The Nâgas,** whose oblations had (*thus*, been stopped, caused a heavy fall of snow, and a destruction of the people in the country) where the rules of conduct were disregarded. — (180) As the snow fell every year for the distress of **the Bauddhas,** the king dwelt in the cold season, for six months, at **Dârvâbhisâra** and similar places. — (181) At that time, the performers of oblations possessed a miraculous power, by virtue of which the Brâhmaṇs did not perish, while the **Bauddhas** entered death. — (182) Then a Brâhmaṇ of the Kâśyapa (*gôtra*), **Chandradêva** by name, underwent austerities, in order to please Nîla, the lord of the serpents and protector of the country. — (183) Having appeared to him, Nîla stopped the plague of snow, and pronounced again the rites of his Purâṇa. — (184) As the first Chandradêva removed the plague of Yakshas, thus the second removed the intolerable plague of **Bhikshus** (*or Bauddhas*) in this country.

(To be continued.)

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

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Translated by G. A. Grierson, B.C.S., and revised by the Author.

(*Continued from p.* 9).

FIFTH EDICT.

Prinsep, *l.c.* pp. 590 ff. (cf. p. 965).

TEXT.

1 Dêvânaṁpiyê Piyadasi lâja hêvaṁ ahâ [.] saḍvîsativasa
2 abhisitêna mê imâni jâtâni[1] avadhiyâni kaṭâni sêyatha
3 sukê sâlikâ alunê[2] chakavâkê haṁsê naṁdîmukhê gêlâtê
4 jaṭûkâ aṁbâkapilikâ daḍî anaṭhikamachhê vêdavêyakê
5 gamgâpupuṭakê samkujamachhê kaphatasayakê paṁnasasê simalê
6 saṁḍakê ôkapiṁḍê palasatê sêtakapôtê gâmakapôtê
7 savê chatupadê yê patibhôgaṁ nô êti[3] na cha khâdiyatî [.] ajakanâ-î[4]
8 êḍakâ châ sûkalî châ gabhinî va pâyamînâ va avadhâya pâtaka(?)
9 pi cha kâni âsaṁmâsikê [.] vadhikukutê[5] nô kaṭaviyê [.] tusê(?) sajîvê[6]
10 nô jhâpêtaviyê [.] dâvê anathâyê vâ vihisâyê[7] vâ nô jhâpêtaviyê [.]

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[174] °कोत्सा° P [175] °माङ्क शशाङ्काधि° P T. विरचय्य P C.

[176] The above translation of this important verse is that proposed by Professor Kielhorn, (*ante*, Vol IV. p. 107f), with whom Dr. Buhler agrees (K R. p. 71) P reads °लैब्ध्वादेशं तस्मात्तदागमत् for which Kielhorn conjectures °लैब्ध्वा देशान्तरात्तदागमम्. स्वं च व्याकरणं P C.

[181] °विधायिनाम् P. For references to the Dârvas and Abhisâras see *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 321, and Böhtlingk and Roth.

[182] रक्षितारमहीश्वरम् P °देवाद्रुस्तपस्तेपे द्विजस्तत P.

[184] यक्षविप्लव : P C. The first half of this verse refers to a passage of the *Nîlamata-Purâṇa*, an extract of which has been given by Dr. Buhler, K. R. p 40 There Kâśyapa-Chandradêva is said to have delivered the country, with Nîla's help, from cold and from the Piśâchas, for whom Kalhaṇa substitutes the Yakshas.

11 jîvêna jîvê nô pusitaviyê [.] tîsu châtuṁmâsîsu[8] tisâyaṁ puṁnamâsiyaṁ
12 tiṁni divasâni châvudasaṁ paṁnaḍasaṁ paṭipadâyê dhuvâyê châ
13 anupôsathaṁ machhê avadhiyê nô pi vikêtaviyê [.] êtâni yêvâ divasâni
14 nâgavanasi kêvaṭabhôgasi[9] yâni aṁnâni pi jîvanikâyâni
15 nô haṁtaviyâni [.] aṭhamîpakhâyê châvudasâyê paṁnaḍasâyê tisâyê
16 panâvasunê tâsu châtuṁmâsîsu sudivasâyê gônê nô nîlakhitaviyê[10]
17 ajakê êḍakê sûkalê êvâpi aṁnê nîlakhiyati nô nîlakhitaviyê [.]
18 tisâyê punâvasunê[*] châtuṁmâsiyê châtuṁmâsipakhâyê asvasâ gônasâ
19 lakhanê nô kaṭaviyê [.] yâva saḍviṁsativasaabhisitêna mê êtâyê
20 aṁtalikâyê paṁnavîsati baṁdhanamôkhâni[11] kaṭâni [.]

NOTES.

1. The neuter *jâtaṁ* can only be taken here in the meaning of *jâti*, 'race,' 'species,' of animals. I have drawn attention elsewhere to another example of this use of the word (*Mahâvastu*, I. 593). *Avadhiyâni kaṭâni*, 'have been established, specified' as not to be slain.

2. This enumeration of names of animals constitutes one of the principal difficulties of the present edict. Several words for which lexicographers provide us with no Sanskṛit equivalents, remain obscure, and, as we are dealing with technical terms, etymology, even when it does appear with probable clearness, cannot lend us assistance. Fortunately this ignorance, much though it may be regretted, does not interfere with the general comprehension of the passage; the more exact identification of some of the animals to which we cannot assign names, would be of small importance to us. The future, as it extends the range of our knowledge, will doubtless fill up many of these *lacunæ*. What we are now certain of is that the enumeration which commences with *sêyathâ* includes the words *savê chatupadê—khâdiyatî*. It is there only that the general prohibition ceases. What follow are temporary or special interdicts, and accordingly the first word of the next sentence can only be *ajakâ*. We thus find classed under the general heading not only aquatic animals and birds, but also terrestrial animals, quadrupeds. The *śuka* and *śârika* are well known; and it is with *aluna, i.e. aruṇa*, that our doubts commence. I do not know what connection Prinsep (p. 965) claims to exist between *aruṇa*, the mythical half-bird charioteer of the Aurora, and the species of crane known to Anglo-Indians as *the adjutant bird*; but I am willingly disposed to admit that his Paṇḍits saw correctly in identifying our *aluna* with this bird to. The St. Petersburg Dictionary only so far recognizes *aruṇa* as an animal, by describing it (after Suśruta) as 'a little poisonous animal.' The names on each side of *aluna* here scarcely allow us to imagine such a meaning, but refer us to some kind of bird. *Nandî-mukha*, according to Suśruta, appears to be applied to an aquatic bird; I have no means for determining the real name. *Gêlâṭa* is altogether uncertain, the identification with *gṛidhra*, allowed by Prinsep's paṇḍits, cannot be upheld. The origin of the word, however, does not appear to be particularly obscure. Sanskṛit has many names of birds into the formation of which *aṭa* appears as a second member. Such are *vyâghrâṭa, dhâmyâṭa*; and we have in this word probably a new example, which I would transcribe as *gairâṭa*, from *giri*, 'a mountain.' *Jatûkâ* 'a bat,' offers no difficulties. This word appears to wind up for the present the enumeration of birds; not because the word *ambâkapilikâ* (*kipilika*, at Allâhâbâd) is clear, but because the Pâli *kipillika*, the Sanskṛit *pipîlikâ*, seems to give us the key to the second member of the compound. With regard to the first member, I cannot agree with Prinsep either in recognising the Sanskṛit *ambâ*, or in adopting, for the whole compound, the meaning "mother-ant," *i.e.* "Queen-ant;" The legislative specification would become, through its minuteness, too difficult to grasp. I am hence driven to choose between *âmra*, 'a mango-tree," (which we shall, by the way, meet subsequently under the feminine form *aṁbâ*), and *ambu*, 'water.' In the latter case, the termination would be a cause of surprise, but the inexactitude of the vocalic notation in our texts gives us some margin, and, subject to correction, I imagine that what is here alluded to is some animal designated by the periphrase 'water-ant.' From one point of view the conjecture is satisfactory, for the name appropriately heads a series of aquatic animals. Thus, the word which immediately follows, and

of which the correct form (cf. M. and A.) is *duḍi*, means "a small species of tortoise." We next have certainly to deal with a fish, *machha, i.e. matsya*; as for the former part of the compound I would not take it, with Prinsep, as corresponding to *anarthika*, but as the equivalent of *anasthika*. The fish in question is named as "the boneless one," perhaps figuratively, and on account, for example, of its extreme suppleness. The cerebral *ṭh* appears to me to recommend this etymology. I learn from Mr. Grierson that, at the present day, in Magadha, the *prawn* is said to have no bones. It is not eaten by Vaishṇavas. I can imagine only one possible transcription for *vêdavêyaka,—vaidarvêyaka. Darvi* means the expanded hood of a snake, and we can suppose that *vidarvi*, or, which comes to the same thing, its patronymic form *vaidarvêya*, might allude to some fish as resembling a snake 'less the hood.' It could thus, for example, mean "an eel;" but this is a pure hypothesis, for I do not meet the word in the Sanskṛit dictionaries. From the sense of 'swelling' given for *pupputa*, it is natural to think that *gaṁgâpupuṭaka* is applied to a particular fish of the Ganges, remarkable for some protuberance. The *saṁkujamachha* should be the same as the *śaṅkuchi*, or 'skate-fish' of Sanskṛit lexicographers. There is only between them; a shade of pronunciation which is sufficiently explained by the Prâkṛit weakening of *ch* into *j*. The next word heads the list of terrestrial animals,—at least it does so in its second half, *sayaka*, which is, I think. in Sanskṛit *śalyaka*, 'the porcupine.' The first member is doubtful. We, however, meet in Yâjñavalkya, I. 177, the porcupine (under the form *śallaka*) associated with the tortoise (*kachchhapa*), and one is strongly tempted to search for a similar association here, and to take *kaphaṭa* as equivalent to the Sanskṛit *kamaṭha*. I admit that the phonetic transition is the reverse of regular, but the objection would not be absolute, especially for a kind of proper name, which was in frequent use, and which, even under its classical form, bears all the characteristics of a popular origin. Moreover, these two animals are mentioned in the verse of the Dharmaśâstra above quoted, as being allowed to be eaten, and it is therefore natural that they should not be included here in the final category of *savê chatupadê, &c.* The same verse speaks of the hare, *śaśa*, which we also meet in our *paṁnasasê*, whether the latter word is a mere equivalent of *śaśa*, or whether the addition of *parṇa* marks a particular species. For *simala*, I cannot discover any Sanskṛit equivalent, the correspondence of which would be either phonetically regular, or at least justifiable. *Saṁḍaka* is the Sanskṛit *shaṇḍa*, and means a bull living at liberty. For *ôkapiṁḍa* I cannot offer a certain translation. At least the form and the existence of the word are vouched for, for we meet it elsewhere in Pâli. In *Mahâvagga*, vi. 17, 6, it is narrated how the Bhikshus leave outside the monasteries the provisions which have been brought to them, and *ukkapiṇḍakâpi khâdanti chôrâpi haranti*; 'the *ukkapiṇḍakas* eat them, the thieves carry them off.' The two last items in the list, *sêtakapôta* and *gâmakapôta*, which admit of no hesitation, and evidently referring to two species of pigeons, appear to authorise the restoration of *palasatê* to *palapatê*. *i.e.* 'turtle-dove' The correction of ल into ल is very easy, and, no matter how well these inscriptions are engraved, in our reproductions there is no want of clear instances in which corrections are necessary. If the new revisions definitely guaranteed the reading *palasatê*, we should be driven to recognize the Pâli *parasatô*, and to translate it by 'rhinoceros' (cf. Trenckner, *Pâli Miscell.*, I. 50), which would look very singular here.

3. Prinsep, while construing the sentence wrongly, correctly recognized the meaning of the expression *patibhôgaṁ ôti*, 'to enter into, to serve for consumption.' The king, who wished to restrain as much as possible the slaughter of animals, naturally forbade in general terms the killing of all those which did not serve for urgent needs, and of which therefore the slaughter was not indispensable. I suppose that *patibhôga* does not refer exclusively to nourishment, but in general to all the needs which dead animals could serve to satisfy. If it were otherwise, *na cha khâdiyati* would only repeat the idea without adding anything new.

4. After the general and absolute prohibitions come those which are accidental and temporary. *Ajakanâni* gives no sense. We require a feminine singular, and there is no place here for a neuter plural. The slight correction of ल to त gives the reading *ajakâ kâni*

equivalent to *ajaká khu*, which is completely satisfactory (cf. I. 161). The particle *kâni* reappears in the next phrase. The paṇḍits of Prinsep, warned by the neighbouring *gabhiní*, hit upon the true meaning of the following adjective. We cannot, however, transcribe it as *payasiní*, but prefer to read *pîyamâná*, which easily gives the meaning of 'in milk, suckling.' We should also read *avadhiyá* and not *avadhâya*, and, with R. and M., *pôtaka* instead of *pâtaka*. *Âsaṁmâsika* is necessarily formed from *â-shaḍ-mâsa*; and it is therefore, in short, forbidden to slaughter the mothers (goats, ewes, and sows) when they are with young, or when they are suckling, and their young when they are less than six months old.

5. *Vadhri* means 'a eunuch,' and *vadhi-kukkuṭa* can only be taken as a compound signifying, 'capon.'

6. *Tusê sajîvê* has an exact counterpart in the expression *sajîvâni prâṇakâni* of *Mahâvastu*, I. 22, 5, 'one may not roast alive any living thing.'

7. This *vihiṁsâ* refers to the destruction of game, brought about by burning down the forest in which it lives.

8. We have here, at the conclusion of the edict, three series of dates, the accurate explanation of which offers more than one difficulty. We shall consider them together. We must first compare them with two parallel indications taken from the detached edicts of Dhauli and Jaugada. Shown in a tabular form these series are :—

A	B	C
tîsu châtuṁmâsîsu	*aṭhamîpakhâyê*	*tisâyê*
tisâyaṁ puṁnamâsiyaṁ	*châvudasâyê*	*punâvasunê*
tiṁni divasâni—	*paṁnaḍasâyê*	*châtuṁmâsiye*
châvudasaṁ	*tisâyê*	*châtuṁmâsipakhâyê*
paṁnaḍasaṁ	*punâvasunê*	
paṭipadâyê	*tîsu châtuṁmâsîsu*	
dhuvâyê châ anupôsathaṁ	*sudivasâyê*	

With which compare the following in the Detached Edicts :—

I.	II.
anuchâtuṁmâsaṁ tisêna nakhatêna (Dh.)	*tisanakhatêna* (Dh.)
anuchâtuṁmâsaṁ tisênaṁ (J.)	*anutisaṁ* (J.)

I must first warn my readers that, in spite of the analogy of the words, the passages in the Detached Edicts do not appear to me to have an exact similarity with those in the above Table. I do not consider that in the two cases the meanings are the same, and moreover, the forms used, differ. But if we begin by comparing between each other the expressions of the two Detached Edicts, we shall find that the second omits the word *anuchâtuṁmâsaṁ*. As both instances refer to the public recitation of the edicts themselves, it is impossible to imagine any reason for suggesting an intentional difference between the two passages. It appears to me to be indisputable that the *tisanakhatêna* or *anutisaṁ* of the second means exactly the same as the more developed phrase of the first. I first, therefore, conclude that *anuchâtuṁmâsaṁ* does not restrict the sense, but merely calls attention to the particulars defined by the simple expression *tisêna nakhatêna*. The relation between the two expressions cannot be the same as that which ought to exist here between the first two in our list A., for, as a matter of fact, if the thematic elements are the same in each case, the grammatical forms used are very different. The feminines *châtuṁmâsî* and *tisâ* can only, conformably to usage, mean 'the full-moon corresponding to each of the festivals called *châturmâsyas* (four-monthly)' and 'the full-moon in conjunction with the *nakshatra* Tishya' (cf. the formation of *Śrâvaṇâ*, according to Pânini, IV. 2, 5); while, on the other hand, *tisêna nakhatêna* cannot mean 'the full moon of Tishya,' but signifies literally 'under the *nakshatra* Tishya.' Again, *anuchâtuṁmâsaṁ* cannot be analysed as *anuchaturmâsaiṁ*, and translated 'every four months' for the *â*, in this hypothesis, would be unexplainable. The only possible transcription is *anuchâturmâsyaṁ*, 'at each of the festivals called *châturmâsyas*,' and so in fact we find the same *anu* actually combined with the name of

an undoubted festival in *anupôsathaṁ*, 'at each *upôsatha*.' After this analogy, and being given the fact that *anutisaṁ* (J.) and *tisanakhatêna* are equivalent terms, we must render all these expressions, *tisêna nakhatêna*, *tisêna*, &c., as 'at the festival of Tishya.' The addition of *anuchâtuṁmâsaṁ* proves, in short, that a festival, corresponding in date to that of the three annual sacrifices of the Brâhmaṇs is referred to; and it is clear that the dates of these sacrifices, being fixed by the occurrences of three definite full-moons, could not regularly, in accordance with astronomical rules, correspond with one and the same *nakshatra*. My two-fold conclusion is therefore; (1) that the quotations from the Detached Edicts must be translated 'at the festival of Tishya' and 'at the festival of Tishya, which is celebrated at each of the *châturmâsya* festivals'; and (2) that these data are without importance in regard to our present passage, in the interpretation of which they cannot help us. It is this interpretation which principally interests us at present.

In the series A., a group at first separates itself off by its syntactic form. This is the words *tiṁni divasâni*, &c., that is to say 'three days, the fourteenth, the fifteenth (of the month), and the *pratipad* (or first day of the following half month).' It is evident that this indication must depend on what precedes for the necessary specification of what particular month or months is or are referred to; and regarding this the only doubt which can be raised is whether it depends only on *tisâyaṁ puṁnamâsiyaṁ* (I accept this reading provisionally) or whether also on *tîsu châtuṁmâsîsu*. If we depended merely on grammar, we might hesitate, but the *data* following, *dhuvâyê châ anupôsathaṁ*, settle the question. These words can only be translated by 'and on the fixed day, each *upôsatha*,' or in other words, 'and, generally, on each day of *upôsatha*.' The use of *dhruva* in the first of the fourteen (rock) Edicts may be compared with this. Now, as each day of the full-moon is necessarily a day of *upôsatha*, to separately mention the three full-moons of the months in which the festival called *châturmâsya* is celebrated, would be merely superfluous, and we must therefore look upon the whole of the first part of the sentence down to *dhuvâyê* as a single compound, and translate 'Besides the full-moons of the months in which the festival *châturmâsya* is celebrated, and the full-moon of Tishya, the fourteenth and fifteenth days, and the day following.' I admit that hitherto the reading *puṁnamâsiyaṁ* has been considered as certain, but I must confess that I am very far myself from thinking it to be so. I shall have more to say about this, after having explained the two last series.

Of these, the third presents scarcely any uncertainty. It includes 'the full-moon in conjunction with Tishya, the full-moon in conjunction with Punarvasû, and the full-moon which corresponds to each of the *châturmâsya* sacrifices.' As for the last term, *châtuṁmâsipakhâyê*, *châturmâsîpaksha* means, according to custom, the half-lunation which follows the full-moon (each full-moon) called *châturmâsî*; and, as here one day in particular is referred to, the feminine *châtuṁmâsipakhâ* (which, of course, is to be construed with *tithi* understood) certainly represents the first day of this half-lunation. It is thus exactly equivalent to the *paṭipadâyê* of the first list, inasmuch as this word depends on *tîsu châtuṁmâsîsu*. I may add that the difference of form between the singular *châtuṁmâsiyê*, which we have here to designate each of the *châturmâsî* full moons, and the plural *tîsu châtuṁmâsîsu* of series A., would naturally (if it were necessary) add confirmation to the explanation which I have just given of the latter phrase. It establishes an intentional distinction between the two cases, and, the sense being certain in the present enumeration, we are left no alternative except to adopt for the phrase in series A. the interpretation, which for independent reasons we have already adopted.

The three first terms of series B. give no room for doubt. *Aṭhamîpakhâ* is the equivalent, in a slightly irregular form of construction, of *pakshâshtamî*, "the eighth day of the half lunation" (cf. e.g. *Dhammap.*, p. 404: *châtuddasî pañchadasî yâva pakkhassa aṭṭhamî*), that is to say, of each lunation. To this the Sinhalese expression *atawaka* (*ashṭapaksha*) (Sp. Hardy, *East. Monach.* p. 236) exactly corresponds. But it is doubtful if the 14 and the 15 refer only to the 14th and 15th of the month, *i.e.* of the first half, thus corresponding to the full-moon, or whether they apply also to the second fortnight of each month. To judge from modern customs

(cf. Sp. Hardy, *loc. cit*), one would be inclined to the first solution ; but, as the idea of a triple *upôsatha* in each half lunation is expressly borne witness to by the *Mahâvagga* (II. 4, 2), I have no hesitation in considering that such is also the intention of the king in this passage. It is true that great uncertainty appears to have prevailed in the tradition about the *upôsatha*. The same work, a little further on (II. 14, 1) only admits 'two *upôsathas*, those of the 14th and of the 15th,' but, on the other hand, another passage (II. 34, 3—4) speaks expressly of the *pâṭipada upôsatha*, that is to say, that which corresponds to the first day of the month (the *amawaka* of Sinhalese terminology). I do not doubt, however, that Piyadasi considered this day as hallowed by a religious consecration. It is on this one day that the difference between the generic expression, *dhuvâyê anupôsathaṁ*, of series A., and our series B., depends ; if this more concise expression is not repeated here, it must necessarily be so in order to exclude some element which it contains, and that element can only be the *pratipad*. With regard to the rest of the list, I would refer to what has been said about series A. and the plural *tîsu châtuṁmâsîsu ;* here again, all the full-moons being comprised in the dates *châvudasâyê* and *paṁnuḍasâyê*, the terms *tisâyê* and *châtuṁmâsîsu* have no use except as determinatives of the last word, *sudivasâyê*. I regret that this last term is obscure to me, for I know of no parallel examples of the technical use of the word. We evidently want here something different from a vague astrological expression corresponding, I suppose, to the Vêdic *sudinatvê ahnâṁ* (cf. Weber, *Die Vêd. Nachrichten von den Naksh.* II. 315). A comparison with the other lists ought to guide us. We shall subsequently see that the acts successively forbidden by the king necessarily constitute a series of decreasing gravity. It is therefore *à priori* more than probable that the lists of reserved days, admitting the fact that there is a distinction) should be reduced in parallel lines : the second should contain less than the first ; and the third less again than the second ; but all the days excepted in the two last should be included in the first. In a general fashion, this conjecture is at first sight justified. Between list B. and list C. it is verified in detail, provided that *châtuṁmâsipakhâ* can be included under the last head of B.—*tîsu châtuṁmâsîsu sudivasâ*, for the full-moons of Tishya, Punarvasû and the *châturmâsyas* are included under the two first terms *châvudasâ* and *paṁnaḍasâ*. On the other hand, to establish an analogy between A. and B. the last portion of B., *tisâyê* to *sudivasâ* must be included in A., either in the last term, *dhuvâyê châ anupôsathaṁ*, or in the last but one, *tîsu—paṭipadâyê*. In the first case, the three first terms of B. include all the days of *upôsatha* except the *pâṭipada upôsatha*, and *sudivasâ* ought to designate the first of the month, the first of the light half (of the month of which the full-moon is in conjunction with Tishya, or Punarvasû, or one of the three months of *châturmâsya*). In the second case, it would designate the first of the dark half which follows (the full-moons in question). To sum up, therefore, C. appears to *require* that *sudivasâ* should designate the 16th of the months above referred, and A. *permits* this interpretation. The conclusion follows that we are driven to admit that B. practically had in view 'the days which come after the full moons in conjunction with Tishya and with Punarvasû, and after the full moons of the months of *châturmâsya*.' It may seem, perhaps, somewhat surprising that the name *sudivasa*, 'lucky day' should be applied to the first of the dark half for in general it is the light half, which is considered as particularly auspicious ; but the scruple must necessarily vanish before the positive fact, witnessed by the perfectly clear testimony of our first list, that the day in question, at least in the lunations specified, was considered as having a religious consecration.

This necessary agreement between our three lists upon which I have just insisted, leads us to one last remark. The expression *tisâyaṁ puṁnamâsiyaṁ* of A. should surprise the reader : *tisâyaṁ* alone would be sufficient, as all the following lists attest. We should rather expect to find *puṁnamâsî* added to *tîsu châtuṁmâsîsu*, the first full-moons indicated, if it were added anywhere. On the other hand, the full-moon in conjunction with Punarvasû plays so important a part in the subsequent lists that it is out of the question that it should not be here also. How could it be permissible to slaughter animals on a day on which it was not permissible even to mark them ? I have therefore no hesitation in maintaining that, instead of *puṁnamâsiyaṁ*, *punâvasuyaṁ* should stand here. I do not deny that such a correction may appear bold, in the

face of the agreement, which, at least apparently, exists between different versions dispersed in different places; but nevertheless, whatever the difficulties may be; whether this agreement actually exists; or whether it is less real than the eyes of explorers, led away by a first reading, in appearance very simple, of the Dehli pillar, believed; to whatever medium, to whatever accident it may be due, I cannot prevent myself from seeing in *puṁnamâsiyaṁ* a certain error for *punâvasuyaṁ*. This last word, it may be added, has itself had a very unlucky fate. In the two following lists, our facsimiles give *vasuné*. The first reproduction in the *Asiatic Researches* is the only one which indicates, at least in the second instance, the true reading, and gives *punûvapuyê* for *punâvasuyê*. If need be, the form *punâvasunê* could be explained, but it would be with difficulty; and considering the close resemblance which exists between the signs ⊥ and ⊔, I have little doubt but that we ought to restore the only normal form, *-vasuyê*.

9. The two words *nâgavana* and *kêvaṭabhôga* offer some difficulty. The derivation is clear (*kaivartabhôga*), but neither appears to be used in the literature known to us. They might without violence be treated as proper names, but why should the king mention particularly two specified localities, in the vicinity, for instance, of his capital, in edicts intended to be published over his whole empire? This conjecture is therefore improbable. What does appear to me to be certain is that of these two terms the former relates to hunting, and the latter to fishing. A passage, which is unfortunately corrupt, in the *Mahâvastu* (I. 24 and notes) leads me to think of the kinds of parks in which game was preserved either to protect it from theft or for gradual consumption: *nâgavana* "elephant park," might refer to an enclosure of this description; and *kêvaṭabhôga* might mean a fish-pond, such as exists in all countries. The king would prohibit the slaughter, on certain specified days, of any kind of animal whatever, whether quadrupeds or fishes, even those which their dwelling-place destines to an early death.

10. The only obscure word here is the verb *nîlakhiyati*. Prinsep naturally thought of the verb *raksh*, but I do not see how it is possible to explain a *nîrakshati*, nor, if we elude this difficulty, how to draw any reasonable sense from it. We must try the verb *laksh*. There can be no doubt that the next sentence turns on the prohibition of *lakshaṇa*, which is used in a well-known *sûtra* of Pâṇini (VI. 3, 115) to mean the marks, *svastika*, *maṇi*, &c., which, as the scholiast explains, they make on the ears of cattle to distinguish the owner of each. This meaning exactly suits our word *lakhana*, for bullocks and horses are, in fact, domestic animals, and consequently fitted for receiving marks of this kind. But what are we to do with *nîlakhati* in the present sentence? It is natural to look again for the Sanskṛit *laksh* in the root *lakh*; but, on the other hand, it is evident that there is a considerable difference between the two operations successively enumerated. This follows not only from the difference in the terms used, in the prefix added in the first case, and omitted in the second, but also from the circumstance that in both, partly at least, the same animals, bullocks (*gônasa*), are dealt with. The long *î*, which occurs almost consistently throughout all the versions, of *nîlakhiyati*, shows that the true transcription can only be *nirlaksh*, and this analysis does, in fact, admit of a very simple translation. If we refer to a recognized meaning of *lakshaṇa*, 'the sexual parts,' a denominative *nirlakshay* would mean "to cut,' 'to castrate,' and, as a matter of fact, all the animals mentioned, being domestic ones, are of that class which could be so mutilated. I believe that I can identify the same meaning in *nirlakshaṇa* as opposed to *lakshaṇavant* in a passage in the *Râmâyaṇâ* (Gorr., II. 118, 5) which is quoted by the St. Petersburg Dictionary, but interpreted, wrongly as I think, in a much vaguer fashion. It will now be seen why I spoke above of a decreasing gradation in the series of cases dealt with by our edict. The first prohibitions deal with the slaughter of animals; the second series interdicts their castration; and the third, the infliction upon them of a much lighter suffering, which might consist, for example, in slitting the ear.

11. The meaning of this last sentence has, I think, been well defined by Lassen (II.[2] 272, n.), although I do not adopt the meaning of 'execution' which he claims directly for *bandhana*. *Baṁdhanamôkkha* means literally 'deliverance from bonds,' 'setting at liberty,' but if the king only spoke of setting at liberty twenty-five prisoners in twenty-five years, the royal

clemency would appear but moderate, while, on the other hand, the repetition of twenty-five general amnesties in as many years would be equivalent to the suppression of all punishment. I consider, therefore, remembering the connection in the fourth edict between the words *baṁdha-nabadha* and *patavadha* while they are nevertheless not synonyms, that Piyadasi here speaks only of important prisoners, and that, as in the last edict, this qualification is here applied exclusively to those condemned to death. This is indeed, also, the only interpretation which would justify the presence of this declaration in this place, at the end of an edict consecrated to recommending a general respect of life.

The following translation results from the preceding observations :—

TRANSLATION.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas :—In the twenty-seventh year after my coronation have I forbidden the slaughter of any of the animals belonging to the following tribes; that is to say,—parrots, *mainas*, *aruṇas*, *chakravâkas*, flamingos, *nandîmukhas*, *gairâṭas*, bats, water-ants(?), the tortoises called *duḍi*, the fishes called *anasthikas*, *vaidarvêyakas*, *puppuṭas* of the Ganges, the fishes called *śaṁkuja*, turtles and porcupines, *parṇaśaśas* (?), *simalas* (?), bulls which wander at liberty, foxes (?), turtle-doves, white pigeons, village pigeons, and all kinds of quadrupeds which do not enter into consumption and which are not articles of food. As for she-goats, ewes, and sows, they may not be slaughtered when they are with young or are in milk, nor their offspring when less than six months old. Caponing fowls is prohibited, nor is it allowed to roast alive any living being. It is forbidden to set fire to a forest either in malice or in order to kill the animals which dwell therein. It is forbidden to make use of living beings in order to feed living beings. At the three full-moons of the *châturmâsyas*, at the full-moon which is in conjunction, with the *nakshatra* Tishya, at that which is in conjunction with the *nakshatra* Punarvasû, on the 14th and the 15th and on the day which follows the full-moon, and generally on each day of *upôsatha*, it is forbidden either to kill fish or to offer them for sale. On the same days it is forbidden to kill either animals confined in gameparks or in fishponds or any other kind of living being. On the 8th, the 14th, and the 15th of each lunar fortnight, and on the days which follow the full-moons of Tishya, of Punarvasû and of the three *châturmâsyas*, it is forbidden to castrate ox, he-goat, ram, boar, or any other animal, which is usually castrated. On the day of the full-moon of Tishya, of Punarvasû, of the *châturmâsyas*, and on the first day of the fortnight which follows the full-moon of a *châturmâsya*, it is forbidden to mark either ox or horse. In the course of the twenty-six years which have elapsed since my coronation, I have set at liberty twenty-five [men condemned to death].

(*To be continued.*)

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, BO C S., M R.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 174.—COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE TIME OF AJAYAPALA.—VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1231.

I edit this inscription, which has not previously been published, from the original plates, which I obtained for examination, in April, 1883, from the Bombay Secretariat. I have no information as to where they were found, or as to the owner of them.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, each measuring about $14\frac{1}{4}''$ by $9\frac{5}{8}''$. The edges of them were raised into rims, to protect the writing; and the inscription is well preserved and very legible throughout.—In the lower part of the first plate, and the upper part of the second, there are holes for two rings; but only one ring is now forthcoming. It is a plain copper ring, about $\frac{1}{4}''$ thick and $2\frac{3}{4}''$ in diameter. It had been cut when the grant came under my notice; but there are no indications of a seal having been attached to this ring and abstracted from it. In the first plate, the ring-holes were originally

made at the top; but they were filled in again with circular pieces of copper. The **seal**, if there was one attached to either of the rings, is not now forthcoming. In the lower proper left corner of the second plate, however, after the end of the inscription, there are engraved the sun and moon, and the figure of a god, seated, and facing full-front. As the god is four-faced, as well as four-armed, and seems to be seated on a water-lily, it must be a representation of Brahman.—The **weight** of the two plates is 10 lbs. 1 oz., and of the ring, 3 oz.; total, 10 lbs. 4 oz. — The **characters** are Nâgarî, of the regular type of the period and locality to which the inscription refers itself. They include, in line 31, the **decimal figures** 1, 2, and 3. The engraving is good; the interiors of the letters are so filled in with rust, that any marks of the working of the tool cannot be observed. The plates are thick and substantial; and the letters do not show through on the reverse sides at all.—The **language** is Sanskṛit. And the inscription is in prose throughout; except for two invocatory verses at the commencement, and nine benedictive and imprecatory verses quoted in lines 14 to 16 and 23 to 31. The text contains some **technical fiscal terms** which require explanation; *talabhêdyâghâṇakamalakavundhaka*, in lines 19-20: and *sarv-âbhyantara-siddhi*, in line 20. And in line 19 we have the word *kankaṭa*, which has been met with in other passages in the sense of 'boundary,' in which it is used here.[1] — In respect of **orthography** the only points that call for notice are—(1) the preferential use of the *anusvâra* instead of the proper nasal, *e. g.* in *paripaṁthayati*, line 7; *daṁḍanâyaka*, line 9; and *aṁgîkṛitya*, line 17; though the proper nasal is used in *maṇḍalam*, line 8, and *vindu*, line 15, and elsewhere; and (2) the use of *v* for *b* throughout, *e. g.* in *vibhartti*, line 1; *vrâhmaṇapâṭakât*, line 2; and *lavdha*, line 5; except once, in line 23, where a distinct form for *b* seems to be used in the word *bahubhir*.

The **inscription** refers itself to **the reign of the Chaulukya king Ajayapâla of Aṇhilwâḍ.** But the grant recorded in it was made by one of his feudatories, **the Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara Vaijalladêva**, who, as we learn from line 17, belonged to **the Châhumâṇa lineage**,—or, as the name is actually written here, **Châhuyâṇa**,—and who had the government of **the maṇḍala or province on the banks of the river Narmadâ**; and the charter was issued from **the city of Brâhmaṇapâṭaka.** The inscription is non-sectarian; the object of it being to record the grant of a village to a *sattrâgâra* or charitable alms-house, for the purpose of feeding Brâhmaṇs.

The **places** mentioned in the inscription are **Anahilapâṭaka**, the capital of Ajayapâla and his ancestors; **Brâhmaṇapâṭaka**, the town from which Vaijalladêva issued the charter; **Âlaviḍagâmva**, the village granted, which is defined as being in the group of villages known as **the Mâkhulagâmva Forty-two-villages**, belonging to **the Pûrṇa pathaka**; and **Khaṇḍôhaka**, the village in which was situated the *sattrâgâra* to which the grant was made. **Aṇahilapâṭaka**, or, as the name was sometimes written, **Aṇahillapâṭaka**, is perhaps better known under the somewhat later and slightly corrupted name of **Aṇhilwâḍ or Aṇhilwâḍâpâṭan.** It is said, in the Jain chronicles, and elsewhere, to have been founded in Vikrama-Saṁvat 802 by the Paramâra king Vanarâja;[2] and it appears to have passed from the possession of the Paramâras into that of the Châwaḍa kings; and to have been acquired from the latter by the first Chaulukya king, Mûlarâja, in Vikrama-Saṁvat[3] 997. It was subsequently laid waste; but the date of this event appears not yet to have been properly fixed; for, whereas Col. J. W. Watson[4] seems to attribute the destruction of the city to the armies of Alâ-ud-dîn in Vikrama-Saṁvat 1297, we find it still mentioned, as the capital of Vîsaladêva,[5] in Vikrama-Saṁvat 1317. It is now represented by **the modern town of Pâṭan**,[6] the chief town of a Sub-Division of the same name in the Gaikwâr's Dominions, about sixty-five miles in a north-westerly direction from Ahmadâbâd. The other places remain to be identified.

The record contains **two dates.** In line 11ff., in connection with the making of the grant, we have the details of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1231, expressed fully in words, and not distinctly

[1] *e. g. ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 255, line 23. The only meaning given in Monier-Williams Sanskṛit Dictionary are mail, defensive armour; an iron hook to goad an elephant.' It is said to be derived from the root *kank*, 'to go.'

[2] *ante*, Vol. XI p. 253; Vol. IV. pp. 145f., 147.

[3] *ante*, Vol. IV. p. 147f.

[4] *ante*, Vol. IV. p. 148.

[5] *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 212.

[6] The 'Patan, Pattan, Puttun, Anhalwada, Anhalwar Patan, and Anhilwara Pattan,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No 21. Lat. 23° 51′ N.; Long. 72° 10′ E.

specified either as current or as expired, the month Kârttika, the bright fortnight, the eleventh *tithi*, and Sômadina or **Monday**; and we are told that, when Vaijalladêva made the grant, he had fasted on this day, and had done worship to the gods Śiva and Vishṇu **at the Kârttik-ôdyâpana festival.** And in line 31 we have the details, for either the writing or the assignment of the charter, of the same month, fortnight, and year, here expressed in decimal figures; and of the thirteenth civil day (and, with it, the thirteenth *tithi*), coupled with Budha, *i e.* Budhavâra or **Wednesday.** The English equivalents ought to be found in A.D. 1173 or 1174, according as the given year, whether referred to the northern or to the southern reckoning of the era, is to be taken as current or as expired. And we have to note that the first of the given *tithis* is the well-known *prabôdhinî* or *utthâna-êkâdaśî*, when Vishṇu wakes up from his four-months' slumber; and that the text distinctly intimates that the grant was made to celebrate this *tithi* and its festival. The results, however, are not altogether satisfactory. By Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, I find that—

In (northern and) southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1231 current, Kârttika śukla 11 ended on Thursday, 18th October, A.D. 1173, at about 51 *ghaṭîs* after mean sunrise, for Aṇhilwâḍ;[7] and Kârttika śukla 13 ended on Saturday, 20th October, at about 43 *gh.* 2 *p.*

And in (northern and) southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1232 current (1231 expired), Kârttika śukla 11 ended on Tuesday, 8th October, A.D. 1174, at about 32 *ghaṭîs*; and Karttika śukla 13 ended on Thursday, 10th October, at about 19 *gh.* 25 *p.* **The tithis began respectively on Monday,** 7th October, at about 38 *gh.* 8 *p.*, **and on Wednesday,** 9th October, at about 25 *gh.* 39 *p.* **And these dates would do, if we could apply the tithis as current tithis.** But there is no justification for the quotation of the current *tithi*, in recording the writing or the assignment of the charter. And both Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit and Prof. Kielhorn have informed me that there is no rule by which the fasting and ceremonies, connected with the *prabôdhinî-êkâdaśî*, can have been performed in this case on the Monday. Accordingly, even the eleventh *tithi* cannot have been quoted here as a current tithi. And the dates thus obtained for the commencement of the two *tithis* are not admissible.

But, **in (northern and) southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1233 current (1232 expired), Kârttika śukla 11 ended, as required, on Monday, 27th October, A.D. 1175,** at about 37 *gh.* 23 *p.*; **and Kârttika śukla 13 ended on Wednesday, 29th October,** at about 25 *gh.* 30 *p.* These results satisfy the requirements of the case, *viz.* that both the given *tithis* should have been quoted, and must be applied, as ended *tithis*; and **these seem certainly to be the real days that were intended.** Accordingly, as there is nothing to raise a suspicion that the grant is other than an authentic one, we must conclude that, in spite of the distinct record in words as well as in figures, we have here a **genuine mistake in respect of the given year**; and that 1231 was wrongly written for 1232, which is to be applied as an expired year, and, in consideration of the locality to which the record belongs, is to be referred to the southern reckoning of the era.

TEXT.[8]

First Plate.

1 Ôṁ[9] Svasti ॥ Jayô=bhyudayaś=cha ॥ Jayati[10] Vyômakêśô=sau yaḥ sarggâya vi(bi)bhartti tâm । aiṁdavîṁ śirasâ lêkhâṁ jagad-vîj-âṁkur-â-

2 kṛitim ॥ Tanvaṁtu vaḥ Smarârâtêḥ kalyâṇam=aniśaṁ jatâḥ । kalp-âṁta-samay-ôddâma-taḍid-valaya-piṁgal[â*]ḥ ॥ Śrî-**Vrâ(brâ)hmaṇapâṭakât** [।*] Śrî-**A-**

3 **ṇahilapâṭakâ**dhishthita-samastarâjâvalîvirâjita-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêsva(śva)ra-p a r a m a-bhaṭṭâraka-**Varvaraka**jishṇu-śrî-**Jayasiṁhadêva-**

4 pâdânudhyâta-Umâpativaralavdha(bdha)prasâda-prauḍha-pratâpa-nijabhujavikramaraṇâṅgaṇa-vinirjjta**Śâkaṁbharîbhûpâla**-paramabhaṭṭâ-

[7] The times here are for Aṇhilwâḍ, all through.
[8] From the original plates.
[9] Represented by a symbol.
[10] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the next verse.

5 raka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrî-**Kumârapâladêva**-pâdânudhyâta-paramabhaṭṭârakamahârâjâdhirâja-paramamâhêśvara[11]-śrî-

6 mad[12]-**Ajayapâladêva**-kalyâṇa-vijaya-râjyê [।*] tat-pâdapadm-ôpajîvini mahâmatya-śrî-**Sômêśvarê** śrî-śrîkaraṇ-âdau samasta-mudrâ-

7 vyâpârân=paripaṁthayati sat=îty=êtasmin=kâlê pravarttamânê [।*] Samadhigatapaṁcha-mahâśavdâ(bdâ)laṁkârôpêta-samastaprakriyâvirâjamâna-mahâ-

8 maṁḍalêśvara-śrî-**Vaijalladêvaḥ** śrîmad-**Ajayapâladêvêna** prasâdîkṛitya **Narmmadâtaṭa**-maṇḍalam=anuśâsan vijay-ôdayî ॥ **Pûrṇṇa**-pathaka-pra-

9 tiva(ba)ddha-**Mâkhulagâmva**-grâma-dvichatvâriṁśat grâmâṇâṁ[13] madhyât **Âlaviḍagâmva**-grâmê samasta-daṁḍanâyaka-dêśathak[k*]ur-âdhishṭhânaka-kara-

10 ṇapurusha-śayyâpâla-bhaṭṭaputra-prabhṛiti-niyukta-râjapurushân vrâ(brâ)hmaṇ-ôttarân pratinivâsi-vishayika-paṭṭakila-janapad-âdîṁś=cha

11 vô(bô)dhayaty=Astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ yathâ ॥ Asmâbhiḥ śrî-**Vrâ(brâ)hmaṇapâṭaka**-sthitai[ḥ*] **nṛipa-Vikrama-kâlâd=arvvâk êka-triṁśad-adhika-dvâdaśa-śa-**

12 **ta-saṁvatsar-âṁtarvarttini Kârttikê mâsi śukla-pakshê êkâdaśyâṁ Sômadinê upôshya Kârttik-ôdyâpana-parvvaṇi** char-âchara-guruṁ bhagavaṁ-

13 taṁ Bhavânî-patiṁ **Purushôttamaṁ** cha Lakshmî-patiṁ **samabhyarchchya** saṁsârasy=âsâratâṁ parijñâya nalinî-gata-jala-lava-taralataraṁ jîvi-

14 tam=âkalayya mada-vivasî(śî)kṛita-kari-karṇṇa-tâla-taralâṁ śriyam=anuchi[ṁ*]tya cha ॥ Tathâ hi [।*] Vât[14]-âbhra-vibhramam=idaṁ vasudh-âdhipatyam=âtâpa-[15]

15 mâtra-madhurô vishay-ôpabhôgaṁ(ḥ) prâṇâs=triṇ-âgra-jala-vindu-samâ narâṇâṁ dharmmaḥ sakhâ param=ahô paralôka-yânê ॥ Api cha [।*] Bhra-

16 mat[16]-saṁsâra-chakr-âgra-dhâr-âdhârâm=iṁmâṁ[17] śriyaṁ prâpya yê na dadus=têshâṁ paśchât[t*]âpaḥ paraṁ phalaṁ ॥ Iti jagatô vinaśvaraṁ svarûpam=âka-

17 layya dṛisht-âdṛishṭa phalam=aṁgîkṛitya cha mâtâpitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśô-bhivṛiddhayê **Châhuyâṇ-ânvayê[na*]** mahâmaṁḍalê-

Second Plate.

18 śvara-śrî-**Vaijalladêvêna**[18] **Khaṁḍôhakê** dakshiṇa-dig-vibhâgê apûrvva-paṁchâśat vrâ(brâ)hmaṇânâṁ[19] bhôjan-[â*]rthaṁ upari likhita **Âla-**

19 **viḍagâṁva**-grâmaḥ sa-vṛiksha-mâlâ-kulaś=chatuḥ-kaṁkaṭa-viśuddhaḥ khar âkara-nidhi-nikshêpa-sahita[ḥ*] talabhêdyâghâṇakamalaka-

20 vuṁdhaka-daṁḍa-dôsha-prâpt-âdâya[ḥ*] abhinava-mârggaṇaka-prabhṛiti-sarvv-âdâyair=upêtaḥ sarvv-âbhyantara-siddhyâ dêva-vrâ(brâ)hmaṇa-bhukti-varjjaṁ

21 â-chaṁdr-ârkka-yâvat śâsanîkṛitya **Khaṁḍôhakêtya**-śatrâgârâya[20] udaka-pûrvvakatvêna pradattaḥ ।(॥) Tad=asmin grâmê samutpadyamâna-bhâ-

22 gabhôga-kara-hiraṇy-âdikam=âjñâ-śravaṇa-vidhêyair=bhûtvâ bhavadbhir=asmai samupanêtavyaṁ । sâmânyaṁ ch=aitat=puṇya-phalaṁ vu(bu)ddhvâ asmad-vaṁśa-

23 jair=anyair=api bhâvi-bhôktṛibhir=asmat-pradatta-dharmmâ(rmma)dâyô=yam=anumaṁtavyaḥ । pâlanîyaś=cha ।(॥) Uktaṁ cha ॥ Bahubhir[21]=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Sa-

24 gar-âdibhiḥ । yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ ।(॥) Yân[22]=îha dattâni purâ narêndrair=dânâni dharmm-ârtha-yaśas-karâṇi । nirmmâlya-vâṁ-

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[11] As shewn by other grants of this family, *e.g. ante*, Vol. VI. p. 194, No. 3, line 8, read *mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-paramamâhêśvara*.

[12] Here, and in line 8, *śrîmat* is used, instead of *śrî*, in conformity with the custom of preferring the use of *śrîmat* before a name commencing with a vowel (see *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. p. 10, note 4). But *śrî* occurs, and with hiatus instead of junction by *saṁdhi*, in the grant of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1280, *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 197, line 13, and in some other places in the same series; and also at the end of line 2 in the present grant.

[13] Read *dvichatvâriṁśad-grâmânâṁ*.

[14] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[15] Read *apâtâ*.

[16] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[17] Read *imôṁ*.

[18] After the use of *asmâbhih* in line 11, the introduction of this instrumental singular is unnecessary.

[19] Read *paṁchâśad-vrâ(brâ)hmaṇânâṁ*.

[20] Read *sattrâgârâya*.

[21] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[22] Metre, Indravajrâ.

25 ti(ta)-pratimâni tâni kô nâma sâdhu[ḥ*] punar=âdadîta ।(॥) Asya[23] kula-kramam=udâram=udâharadbhir=anyaiś=cha dâma(na)m=idam=apy=anumôdanîyam । lakshmyâ-

26 s=taḍid-valaya-vudvuda-chaṁchalâyâ êvaṁ phalaṁ para-yaśaḥ-paripâlanaṁ cha ॥ Sarvvân[24]=êtân bhâvinaḥ pârthivêndrân bhúyô-bhûyô

27 yâchatê Râmabhadraḥ । sâmânyô=yaṁ dharmma-sêtur=nṛipâṇâṁ kâlê-kâlê pâlanîyô bhavadbhiḥ ।(॥) Sva[25] dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêta

28 vasuṁdharâṁ shashṭi-varsha-sahasrâṇi vishṭâyâṁ jâyatê kṛimiḥ ।(॥) Iha[26] hi jalada-lîlâ-chaṁchalê/ jîva-lôkê tṛiṇa-lava-la-

29 ghu-sârê sarvva-saṁsâra-saukhyê । apaharatu dur-âśaḥ śâsanaṁ dêvatânâṁ naraka-gahana-gartt-âvartta-pât-ôtsukô yaḥ ।(॥) Iti[27]

30 kamala-dal-âmvu(mbu)-vindu-lôlâṁ śriyam=anuchi[ṁ*]tya manushya-jîvitaṁ cha sakalam =idam=uḍâhṛitaṁ cha vudvâ[28] na hi purushaiḥ para-

31 kîrttayô vilôpyâ iti ॥ **Saṁvat 1231 varshê Kârttika śu di 13 Vu(bu)dhê** ॥ Maṁgalaṁ mahâ-śrîḥ ॥ Dû° [29] pratî-

32 hâra-**Sôbhanadêvaḥ** ॥ Sva-hastô=yaṁ mahâmaṁḍalêśvara-śrî-**Vaijalladêvasya** ॥ Uparô° [30] ri° [31] Vâmadêvaḥ ॥

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

After two verses in praise of the god Śiva, under the names of Vyômakêśa (line 1) and Smarârâti (l. 2), the inscription gives the following genealogy :—The *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, and *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, the glorious **Jayasiṁhadêva** (l. 3), who was established at the famous **(city of) Aṇahilapâṭaka** (l. 2), and who was **victorious over the Varvarakas.** His successor (*lit.* 'he who meditated on his feet;' *pâd-ânudhyâta*) was the *M. P. P.*, the glorious **Kumârapâladêva** (l. 5), who acquired the favour of a boon from the god Umâpati (Śiva), and **who conquered in battle the king of Sâkaṁbharî.** And his successor is the *M. P. P.*, the glorious **Ajayapâladêva** (l. 6), a most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara (Śiva) (l. 5).

In the reign of the last-mentioned king (l. 6), and while his feudatory (*lit.* 'he who subsists like a bee on the water-lilies that are his feet;' *pâdapadm-ôpajîvin*), the *Mahâmâtya*, the illustrious **Sômêśvara** (l. 6), is superintending all the functions connected with the royal seal in the records (*śrîkaraṇa*) and other departments :—

From the famous **(city of) Brâhmaṇapâṭaka** (l. 2), the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, the illustrious **Vaijalladêva** (l. 7), who has attained the *pañchamahâśabda*, and who through the favour of the glorious **Ajayapâladêva,** is governing **the province on the banks of the river Narmadâ** (l. 8), informs the *Daṇḍanâyaka*, *Dêśaṭhakkura*, *Âdhishṭhânaka*, *Karaṇapurusha*, *Sayyâpâla*, *Bhaṭṭaputra*, and all the other royal officials at **the village of Âlaviḍagâmva** (l. 9) in the middle of the group known as **the Mâkhulagâmva Forty-two-villages,** belonging to **the Pûrṇa pathaka** (l. 8), and the neighbouring *Vishayikas*, *Paṭṭakilas*, and other people, headed by the Brâhmaṇs :—

"Be it known to you (l. 11), that, by Us, while stationed **at Brâhmaṇapâṭaka** (l. 11),—**having fasted on Monday, the eleventh tithi in the bright fortnight in the month Kârttika, in the year twelve hundred, increased by thirty-one, after the time of king Vikrama ; and having done worship, at the festival of the Kârttik-ôdyâpana,** to (Śiva) the divine lord of Bhavânî, the father of all things animate and inanimate, and **to Purushôttama** (Vishṇu), the lord of Lakshmî (l. 13),—for the increase of the religious merit and

[23] Metre, Vasantatilaka.—The metre is faulty here ; and we must correct *asya* into *êshâṁ*.
[24] Metre, Śâlinî.
[25] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).
[26] Metre, Mâlinî.
[27] Metre, Pushpitâgrâ.
[28] Read *buddhvâ*.
[29] i.e. *dûtakaḥ*.
[30] and [31] What offices are denoted by these two abbreviations, is not apparent. Possibly the two words are a mistake for one word, *uparî°*, which would stand for *uparikô*.

the fame of Our parents and of Ourself (l. 17), (by Us, *viz.*) by the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, the illustrious **Vaijalladêva**[32] (l. 18), **who belongs to the Châhuyâṇa lineage** (l. 17), for the purpose of feeding fifty new Brâhmaṇs[33] in the southern division in **(the village of) Khaṇḍôhaka** (l. 18), the above-mentioned **village of Âlaviḍagâmva**, with certain rights and privileges that are specified, but exclusive of the rights of enjoyment of gods and Brâhmaṇs, is given by this charter to the charitable alms-house (*sattrâgâra*) at **Khaṇḍôhaka** (l. 21).

"[In lines 21 to 31 the grantor gives an injunction to future rulers to continue the grant; and quotes seven of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. And his speech ends with the word *iti*, in line 31.]"

Line 31 contains the date of **the year 1231, the month Kârttika, the bright fortnight, the civil day 13, on Wednesday**; which must denote the day on which the charter was written or assigned.

And the inscription ends with the record that the *Dûtaka* is the *Pratîhâra* **Sôbhanadêva**; followed by the words "this is the sign-manual (*sva-hasta*) of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, the illustrious **Vaijalladêva**; and by the mention of an official named Vâmadêva, whose post and connection with the grant are not quite clear.

SUDI AND VADI.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

As regards the true signification of **the expressions su. di. and va. di.**, and their use in ancient records, I, of course, entirely concur in the views expressed by Mr. Fleet, in a note on p. 147 of Vol. XVI. of this Journal. But there can, in my opinion, be no doubt that, **in more modern times**, the Hindus have looked upon *śudi* or *sudi*, and *vadi* or *badi*, as *words*, and have taken the former to be equivalent to *śukla-pakshê* 'in the bright half,' and the latter to *kṛishṇa-pakshê* 'in the dark half' of a month.

In grammar, one would naturally look for these terms, if they should have been regarded as independent words, in the gaṇa *svarâdi*; and it is instructive to note that, while in the **Kâśikâ-Vṛitti**, composed about A.D. 650, there occurs neither *śudi* nor *vadi* among the *svarâdi*, the **Gaṇaratnamahôdadhi**, which we know to have been compiled about A.D. 1140, does contain *sudi*, explained by *śukla-pakshê*, in that gaṇa; and the quite modern **Gaṇaratnâvali** enumerates among the *svarâdi* both *śudi* and *vadi*, explained by *śukla-pakshê* and *kṛishṇa-pakshê* respectively.

And I am even able to quote **several dates** in which the terms *sudi* and *vadi* have actually been coupled with a *tithi* or lunar day; a proceeding which may be utterly illogical, but which shows that the writers had altogether forgotten the original meaning of *sudi* and *vadi*, and that, to them, these terms were synonymous with *śukla-pakshê* and *kṛishṇa-pakshê*, and nothing else.

1.—From a photolithograph in *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XX. plate xxii., we learn that on the pillar of a temple at 'Dubkund,' about 76 miles south-west of Gwâlior, there is a short inscription, dated—

Saṁvat 1152 Vaiśâsha(kha)-**sudi-paṁchamyâṁ**,—

i.e. 'on the fifth (lunar day) of *sudi* (*i.e.* the bright half) of Vaiśâkha, of the year 1152.'

2.—In Professor Peterson's valuable *Report on Sanskṛit MSS.* for 1884-86, Appendix, p. 156, the date of the completion of a commentary on the *Bhavabhâvanâ* is given in the following verse,—

Saptatyadhik-aikâdaśa-varshaśatair=Vikramâd=atikrâṁtaiḥ |
nishpannâ vṛittir=iyaṁ Śrâvaṇa-**vadi-paṁchamî**-divasê ||

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[32] See note 17 above.

[33] The exact force of *apûrva* is not evident But it seems to indicate fifty fresh Brâhmaṇs, who had not been fed on any previous occasion, and who perhaps had just come to establish themselves in the village, or at the *sattrâgâra*.

i.e. 'this commentary was completed on the day (on which ended) the fifth (lunar day) of *vadi* (*i.e.* the dark half) of Srâvaṇa, when eleven hundred years increased by seventy had gone by since Vikrama.'

3.—From my own *Report on Sanskṛit MSS.* for 1880-81, p. 46, it will be seen that a copy of Hêmachandra's *Sabdânuśâsana-laghuvṛitti* was completed, at Stambhatîrtha,—

Saṁvat 1315 varshê Chaitra-**vadi-chaturthî**-dinê Vu(bu)dha-vârê,—

i.e. 'in the year 1315, on the day (on which ended) the fourth (lunar day) of *vadi* (*i.e.* the dark half) of Chaitra, on a Wednesday.'

4.—From Śîlaratnasûri's commentary on Mêrutuṅga's *Mêghadûta*, an extract of which is given in Professor Peterson's *Report* for 1884-86, Appendix, p. 249, we learn (verse 4) that the author completed his work, at Aṇahillapâtaka,—

Varshê chaṁdra-nidhâna-pûrva-1491-kalitê śrî-Vikramârkât=tathâ

Chaitr-âṁtar=**vadi-paṁchamî**-Budhadinê śrêshth-Ânurâdhâ-yutê ।—

i.e. 'in the year, (reckoned) from the glorious Vikramârka, (which is) made up of the moon (1), the treasures (9), and the *Pûrvas* (14, *i.e.* in) 1491; in (the month) Chaitra, on a Wednesday, the fifth (lunar day) of *vadi* (*i.e.* the dark half), coupled with the excellent (*nakshatra*) Anurâdhâ.'

5.—In Professor Peterson's *Report on Sanskṛit MSS.* for 1882-83, p. 94, we read—

Saṁvad=grah-âśva-muni-bhû-jñâtê mâsê Madhau **sudi** ।

trayôdaśyâṁ Sôma-vârê samâptô=yaṁ Sukh-ôdadhih ॥

i.e. 'this ocean of pleasure was completed on a Monday, on the thirteenth (lunar day in) *sudi* (*i.e.* the bright half) in the month Madhu (*i.e.* Chaitra), in the year known by the planets (9), the horses (7), the sages (7), and the earth (1; *i.e.* in 1779).'

These dates, the wording of three of which, at any rate, is proved by the metre to be indisputable (and the number of which might easily be increased), will suffice to show that from about A.D. 1100 *sudi* and *vadi* were really interchangeable with *śukla-pakshê* and *kṛishṇa-pakshê*, and that they were used in these senses both by themselves and also in composition with preceding or following words. And such being the case, we cannot be surprised to find *sudi* and *vadi* also coupled with the new-moon and full-moon *tithis*, and with the *tithi* called *pratipad* or *pratipadâ*, as, *e.g.*, in the following dates:—

6.—A copper-plate grant of Vîrasiṁha, published by Dr. F. E. Hall in the *Jour. Americ. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VI. p. 542, is dated—

Saṁvat 1177 Kârttika-**vadi amâvâsyâṁ**[1] Ravi-dinê,—

i.e. 'on Sunday, on the new-moon (*tithi* or lunar day, in) *vadi* (*i.e.* the dark half) of Kârttika, of the year 1177.'

7.—The 'Rewân' plate of Gôvindachandradêva, published by Dr. Fuhrer in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LVI. Part I. p. 109, is dated, in line 18,—

Saṁvat 1187[2] Mârgga-**sudi paurṇṇi(rṇa)mâsyâṁ tithau** Sôma-dinê,—

i.e. 'on Monday, on the full-moon *tithi* (or lunar day, in) *sudi* (*i.e.* the bright half) of Mârgaśîrsha, of the year 1187.'

8.—The Alha-Ghaṭ inscription of Narasiṁhadêva, of which a photolithograph is given in *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XXI. plate xxviii., and of which I owe a rubbing to Mr. Fleet, is dated—

Saṁvat 1216 Bhâdra-**sudi-pratipadâ** Ravau,—

i.e. 'the first lunar day of *sudi* (*i.e.* the bright half) of Bhâdrapada of the year 1216, on a Sunday.'

Although dates like these prove that the later grammarians certainly did not invent the meanings which they have assigned to *sudi* and *vadi*, in actual usage the connection of these terms with a *tithi* must nevertheless be regarded as exceptional; for, in the majority of cases *sudi* and *vadi* are even in later dates followed by a numeral figure, while the word denoting a

[1] Dr. Hall has altered *amâvâsyâṁ*, unnecessarily, to *amâvâsyô yôṁ*. [2] See page 57 above.

tithi is as regularly preceded by *śukla-paksha, krishṇa-paksha, śukla, krishṇa, sita, asita,* or some similar expression. And judging from the large number of dates before me, I feel little hesitation in saying that the two terms retained their original signification, and were felt to be what they really are, abbreviations of two separate words, up to about the beginning of the twelfth century of the Vikrama era. At any rate, I may be permitted to point out that, if an expression like *sudi-pañchamyâm,* which we have met with in the date No. 1 above, had been habitually employed in *earlier* times, we might certainly expect to read *sudi-pañchamyâm,* instead of *sita-pañchamyâm,* in the following verse, which occurs in my *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* for 1880-81, p. 9, and in Professor Peterson's *Report* for 1884-86, Appendix, p. 149 :—

Saṁvatsara-śata-navakê dvishashṭi-sahitê=tilaṁghitê ch=âsyâḥ |
Jyêshṭhê[3] **si(si)ta-paṁchamyâṁ** Punarvvasau Guru-dinê [samâptir=abhût ||]

i.e. 'and this (work) was completed when nine hundred and sixty-two years had gone by, in (the month) Jyaishṭha, on the fifth (lunar day) of the bright (half), on a Thursday, (the moon being) in (the *nakshatra*) Punarvasu.'

In conclusion, I may add that some of the dates quoted above are of considerable interest, for various reasons, which I shall have occasion to state fully in a separate paper.

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIṬ NATESA SASTRI, M.F.L.S.

No. 29.

THE JESSAMINE KING.

In a certain country there lived a petty king called the **Jessamine King** (Mallikairâjan), because **when he laughed** the country, for ten *kôs* round, became **fragrant with the scent of jessamines**; provided his laughter was not forced, but came naturally to him. His fame soon spread throughout the world, and **many came to see him,** and to wait for a chance of enjoying the scent he gave out. **The Emperor,** however, to whom the Jessamine King paid his tribute, **sent for him** in the pride of his superiority, and in obedience to the mandate, the Jessamine King went to his master, who tried in several ways to make him laugh, but in vain. After trying all he could the Emperor grew hopeless of success, and thinking that his vassal was impertinent, sent him to prison. So the poor Jessamine King, for no fault of his own, was imprisoned.

Now just opposite the prison there lived a deformed cripple with whom the Emperor's wife had an unlawful intimacy. She was in the habit of going to him at the tenth *ghaṭikâ* of every night with pudding and sweetmeats, and remaining with him the whole night. Several people knew of this, and the Jessamine King was informed of it by the jailor, but he never seemed to take any notice of it.

One night the emperor's wife came rather later than usual, at which the cripple became highly enraged, and kicked and struck her with his deformed legs and hands. She bore it all patiently and without a murmer, and gave him the sweetmeats and other things as before. After eating his fill, the cripple thought within himself :—"What have I been doing to-day! I have severely punished a woman who is my protectress. Notwithstanding my intimacy with her, she is a woman of high rank. Perhaps she will discontinue her visits to me."

Thinking thus he spoke to her :—"My dear! you must excuse my kicks! Were they very severe?"

"No, my love!" said she. "I am as happy after them, as one who has travelled over the fourteen worlds."

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[3] Not *Jyêshthêsitapaṁchamyâṁ,* i.e., *Jyêshthê asita-paṁchamyâṁ,* as given in Professor Peterson's Report. The corresponding day, for the bright half of Jyaishtha, of the southern Vikrama year 962, expired, is Thursday, 1st May, A.D. 906, when the fifth *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise, and when the moon *was* in Punarvasu up to about 5 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

Now below the verandah in which this conversation was held, there was wandering about a washerman, who had lost an ass some days before. He had searched everywhere, but was not able to find it. After spending the earlier part of the night in looking for it, he rested himself under the verandah for a short time, and there he heard a woman saying that she was as happy as one who had travelled over the fourteen worlds, and he mistook her for a great traveller.

"Surely she must have met my ass somewhere or other," thought he, and getting up as once, he fell at her feet with tears in his eyes, saying "Mother! have you seen my lost ass?"

The Jessamine King had been watching all this, and as soon as the washerman fell at the wicked Empress's feet saying "Mother, have you seen my lost ass?" he could not contain his laughter. He laughed till his sides were like to split, and lo! all around the sweet jessamine scent began to play.

The servants of the emperor, who were ordered by his Majesty to rouse him at the first sign of the jessamine scent at whatever time it might appear, now aroused him from his sleep. The emperor got up and thought to himself, "I tried my best to make my vassal laugh, and used all the means I could, but I failed altogether. What can be the reason for his laughter at this hour of the night? I will send for him."

As soon as the Jessamine King was sent for, he made his appearance in due obedience to the Emperor's mandate, and did his best to conceal the reason of his laughter from him. But finding at last that his life was at stake he told the whole story. So the end of it all was that the Emperor sent his wife and the cripple to the gallows, and the Jessamine King to his own country.

MISCELLANEA.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. XIV.

Journal Asiatique for 1887 (Vols. IX. and X).

(1) *January* 1887.—M. Urbain Bouriant describes an interesting find of three leaves of a **Coptic Romance of Alexander.** These were discovered amongst a number of **Theban MSS.** purchased at Akhmîm by M Maspero for the Bibliothèque Nationale. They are three detached fragments, and the rest of the work cannot be found This is the first work of fiction of Coptic origin which has been discovered. M. Bouriant gives the text and translation of the fragments. The MS. is doubly interesting because the **Romance of Alexander** appears to have **had its origin in Egypt,** whence it was at least partly borrowed and translated into Greek by the Pseudo-Callisthenes, **from which the various western versions of the legend have sprung. An Oriental version** of the story of Alexander **had its origin in Persia,** and has been recorded by many authors, from Firdûsî downwards. This version is, however, almost certainly, **to be referred ultimately to the western version** of the Pseudo-Callisthenes for its origin. The present Coptic MS. appears to be probably a modernized edition of the ancient Egyptian original of both these versions.

The next paper consists of translated extracts by M De Harlez of the **Tchou-tze-tsieh-yao-tchuen,** or summary of the essential principles of the philosophy of Tchou-tze.[1] It was written in the year 1602 by a disciple of that philosopher, named K'ao-pen-long. The extracts translated are Chapter III., on the perfecting of instruction, and Chapter V., on the obligation to subdue and correct oneself.

The number concludes with an examination of the text of the **Moabite Stone,** by M Clermont-Ganneau, with special reference to a recent work on the same subject by MM. Smend and Socin. The paper being one of textual controversy cannot be summarised.

(2) *February-March,* 1887,—opens with an account of another **Coptic MS.** by M E. Amélineau, of the French Archæological Mission in Egypt. The document is historical, written in the 13th century, and deals with the **martyr John of Phanijôit.** The author was a priest named Mark, a disciple of Michael, Bishop of Bubastis (or Zagazig) and Belbéis. The martyr John was a Christian, who turned Musalmân in order to marry a woman of that faith On her death he returned to Christianity, and, filled with remorse, endeavoured to persuade 'the king' at Cairo to return him the documents relating to his first apostasy. He was at first treated as a

[1] I spell these words as they are transliterated in French. I have not ventured to spell them in the English fashion.—G. A. G.

madman, but finally made himself so obnoxious, that he was put to death The king referred to is Muhammad Abû'l-Fath, surnamed Al-Malik al-Kâmil. The paper contains notices of contemporary history and geography, together with the text and translation of the whole work

Next follows a continuation of M. Abel Bergaigne's **Researches into the history of the Ṛig-Vêda.** These have been already referred to more than once. His main theory may briefly be described as follows:—He takes the well known *adhyâya* division of the *Rig-Vêda* There are 64 of these divisions, all of which should be of about equal length. Some *adhyâyas*, however, exceed the proper length in a degree which cannot be explained in any satisfactory way, and it hence follows that they contain interpolations of later date. By a series of elaborate and ingenious calculations, he is able to point out the passages which he suspects to be interpolated. It would be impossible to give a satisfactory account of his full theory in a summary like the present. I may add here that his conclusions are combated by Dr. H. Oldenberg in the 41st Vol. of the *Zeitsch. des Morgenland. Gesell.* (p 508 and ff.); and that on p 488 of Vol X of the *Journal Asiatique*, M. Bergaigne replies to Dr Oldenberg, and also denies that he is indebted for any portion of his theory to Mr. Pincott

(3) *Volume X.*—commences with an interesting paper by M. J. Darmesteter, on **Points of Contact between the Shâh Nâma and the Mahâbhârata.** He takes for his text the *Mahâprasthânikaparva* of the later work, and the account of the Renunciation of Kai Khusrû in the former. There is a great resemblance between the final scenes of the life of Yudhishthirâ, and of the Persian hero, and M Darmesteter, after dealing with them in some detail, comes to the conclusion that the portion of the *Mahâbhârata* in which the episode is described is a later addition, and that the original version is the Persian one contained in the *Shâh Nâma* The legend probably filtered into India between the Scythic invasion and the 6th or 7th century of our era, but nearer to the earlier than the later epoch. The story of the renunciation and the ascent into heaven of Kai Khusrû, has not only travelled eastwards from Persia, but has also been adopted in the East. We find it, in the 12th century, attached to the patriarch Enoch, in a Jewish work, the Book of the Just (*Sefer Hayyashar*), which collects all the legends formed round the *Book of Genesis*

The next article, by M. Victor Loret, deals with the **Sacred Perfume of the ancient Egyptians,** called *kyphi.* The Greek authors Dioscorides. Plutarch, and Galen, have transmitted to us *recipes* for its composition; and similar formulæ have also of late been discovered in Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, dating from the reign of Ptolemy VII. The author utilizes these two sets of directions for the identification of a number of Egyptian names of plants and drugs.

A note by M. Clément Huart on the Musalmân religious movement called **Bâbism,** and another by M. de Rochemonteix on the identification of some **Egyptian place-names,** conclude the number.

(4) The second number of Vol. X. commences with a study on the **Arabic dialect of Damascus,** by Mgr. David, Syrian archbishop of that city The article is supplementary to one written on the same subject by M Huart in 1883. It includes notes on pronunciation, orthography, inflexion, and vocabulary.

The next article is a summing up by M. H. Sauvaire of his series of papers on the **numismatics and metrology of the Musalmâns.** The article principally consists of valuable lists of prices of necessaries from the 7th to the 17th centuries A. D.

This is followed by the text and translation of the **History of King Na'amân of Khurasân,** an Arab tale in the vulgar dialect of Syria. It is communicated by M. A. Barthélemy. It is a story worthy of the Arabian Nights.

M. Urbain Bouriant next gives us some further fragments of the **Theban Romance of Alexander** already mentioned Three more leaves of the MS. have been discovered at Akhmîm, by the author, who gives text, translation, and notes.

Two reviews conclude the number. One refers to Dr. W. Radloff's examples of the popular literature of the **North Turkish tribes,** and the other deals with two **grammars of the dialect of Algeria.**

(5). *Part III. of Vol. X.*—commences with three **vocabularies of Dialects of Berber** by M René Basset They were collected in the course of two missions on which the author was sent by the Governor-General of Algeria The first dialect is that spoken in Gourara and Touat. The second is the *argot* of Mzab, and the third the dialect of the Youaregs Anelimmiden.[2]

This is followed by notes by M Barthélemy, principally on Grammar, on the **Arabic Story of Na'amân** dealt with by him in the previous number

In the next paper, as already mentioned, M, Abel Bergaigne, writes a postscript to his paper on the division of the *Rig-Vêda* into *adhyâyas*

[2] These words are spelt as in the original.—G. A. G.

in which he replies to the criticisms of Prof. Oldenberg, and rejects the claims to the discovery put forward by Mr. Pincott in *J. R. A S*, Vols. XVI. and XIX.

M Clermont Ganneau gives a fourth instalment of his notes on Arab Epigraphy and History. The present paper contains a critique of Dr. Gildemeister's article on an Arabic inscription found at Bâniâs, the ancient Paneas, in Galilee, which appeared in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Palastina-Vereins*, Vol. X., pp. 168 and ff., and a note on the bridge constructed at Lydda by Sultân Baibars.

A transcription and translation by M. Oppert, of a Babylonian contract concerning a slave, is the most interesting portion of the miscellaneous notes which conclude the volume.

G. A. GRIERSON.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 24.

In the Bagumrâ copper-plate grant of the Râshṭrakûṭa Mahâsâmantâdhipati Kṛishnarâja II. of Gujarât, published, with a Plate, by Dr. Hultzsch in this Journal, Vol. XIII. p. 65 ff., the date (from the published text and lithograph; Plate ii. *b*, line 11 f.) is — Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-savatchhara (*read* saṁvatsara)-śatêshv=ashṭasu dah-ôtarêshu (*read* daś-ôttarêshu) Chaitrê amâvâsyâ(*read* Chaitr-âmâvâsyâ)-sûryagrahaṇa-parvaṇi, — "in eight centuries, increased by ten, of the years that have gone by from the time of the Śaka king; at **the conjunction of an eclipse of the sun** on the new-moon *tithi* of (the month) Chaitra." And the charter records a grant of the village of Kaviṭhasâḍhi, — which has been identified[1] with the modern Kôsâḍ in the Ôlpâḍ Tâlukâ of the Surat District, — by Kṛishṇarâja II, on this occasion, after bathing in the Narmadâ at the Bhagavat-tîrtha.

Here, again, a correct result can be obtained only by taking the given year 810 as **an expired year.**

Thus in Śaka-Saṁvat 810 current, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, the *pûrṇimânta* Chaitra kṛishṇa 15 ended on Sunday, 26th February, A.D. 887, at about 40 *ghaṭîs*, 4 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay); and the *amânta tithi*, on Tuesday, 28th March, at about 22 *gh.* 30 *p.* And on neither of these days was there an eclipse of the sun.

But, **in Śaka-Saṁvat 811 current (810 expired),** while the *pûrṇimânta tithi* ended at about 24 *gh.* 11 *p.* on Saturday, 16th March, A. D. 888, on which day there was no solar eclipse, **the amânta Chaitra kṛishṇa 15 ended on Monday, 15th April, A.D. 888,** at about 5 *gh.*; **and on this day there was an eclipse of the sun,**[2] which seems to have been visible in the south of India.

This result corroborates that obtained under No. 22 of these Calculations; and shews that **by this period the amânta southern arrangement of the lunar fortnights had permanently superseded the pûrṇimânta arrangement with the years of the Śaka era in Gujarât.**

No. 25.

In the Haḍḍâlâ copperplate grant of the Châpa Mahâsâmantâdhipati Dharaṇîvarâha, the feudatory of a king named Mahîpâladêva, **from the eastern part of Kâṭhiâwâḍ,** published by Dr. Buhler in this Journal, Vol. XII. page 190 ff, it is recorded that Dharaṇîvarâha, who was residing (Plate ii. line 1 f.) at Vardhamâna, which has been identified by Dr. Bühler with the modern Waḍhwâṇ in the Jhâlâwâḍ Prânt in Kâthiâwâḍ, granted the village of Viṅkala to a Brâhmaṇ, — (Plate ii. line 12) udagayana-mahâparvaṇi,—"**at the great festival or conjunction of the udagayana,**" *i.e.* at the winter solstice, which is to be taken as represented by **the Makara-saṁkrânti** or entrance of the Sun into Capricornus. And towards the end, we have the full details (Plate ii. line 21) of — Saka-Saṁvat 836 Pausha śu di 4 uttarâyaṇê,—"the Saka year 836; (the month) Pausha; the bright fortnight; the (civil) day 4, (and, with it, the fourth *tithi*); **at the uttarâyaṇa,**" *i.e.*, again, at (the festival of) the winter solstice.

Here, again, a correct result can be obtained only by taking the given year as **an expired year.**

Thus, in Śaka-Saṁvat 836 current, Pausha śukla 4 ended at about 45 *ghaṭîs*, 45 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay), on Saturday, 4th December, A.D. 913; eighteen days before the *Makara-saṁkrânti*, which occurred at about 52 *gh.* 31 *p.* on Wednesday, 22nd December.

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[1] *ante*, Vol. XVI p. 100 f.

[2] Von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, pp. 200, 201, and Plate 100.

But, **in Saka-Saṁvat 837 current (836 expired), Pausha śukla 4 ended on Friday, 23rd December, A.D. 914,** at about 36 *gh.* 58 *p.*; **and the Makara-saṁkrânti occurred on the same day,** at about 8 *gh.* 4 *p.*; and any rites and ceremonies connected with it would be performed on that same day.

Dr. Bühler's published text gives the year 839; which is also quoted in his introductory remarks; though in his translation the year is given as 836. For the year 839, however, whether it is taken as current or as expired, correct results cannot be obtained. Thus, in Saka-Samvat 839 current, Pausha śukla 4 ended at about 34 *gh.* 22 *p.* on Saturday, 30th November, A D. 916; twenty-two days before the *Makara-saṁkrânti*, which occurred at about 39 *gh.* 7 *p.* on Sunday, 22nd December. And in Saka-Saṁvat 840 current (839 expired), Pausha śukla 4 ended at about 41 *gh* 59 *p.* on Saturday, 20th December, A.D. 917; two days before the *Makara-saṁkrânti*, which occurred at about 54 *gh.* 39 *p.* on Monday, 22nd December, and the rites and ceremonies of which, moreover, would not be celebrated till the following day, Tuesday. The published text fortunately includes a reproduction of the original figures; of which the last seemed to me, at first sight, clearly to mean 6, and to be a transitional form between the numerical symbol and the decimal figure. And the results shew that **the real reading undoubtedly is the year 836.**

No. 26.

In the **Surat copper-plate grant of the Chaulukya prince Trilôchanapâla of Lâṭadêśa,** published with a Plate, by Mr. H. H. Dhruva in this Journal, Vol. XII. p. 196 ff., the date (from the published lithograph; Plate iii. line 3 f.) is — Śâkê nava-śatair yuktê dvi-saptaty-adhikê tathâ Vikṛitê vatsarê Paushê mâsê pakshê cha tâmasê amâvâsyâtithau sûrya-parvaṇy=Aṅgâravârakê, — "in the Saka (*year*) that is possessed of (*the number of*) nine centuries and is increased by seventy-two; **in the year Vikṛita;** in the month Pausha, and in the dark fortnight, on the new-moon *tithi*; **at the conjunction (of an eclipse) of the sun; on Aṅgaravâraka, or Tuesday.**" And the charter records a grant of the village of Erathâṇa, — identical, as pointed out by Mr. H. H. Dhruva, with the modern Erthâṇ in the Ôlpâḍ Tâlukâ of the Surat District, — to a Brâhmaṇ, on this occasion, by Trilôchanapâla, who was then at the Agastya-tîrtha on the shore of the western ocean.

That the given Śaka year 972 is to be applied as **an expired year,** is shewn by the mention of **the Vikṛita saṁvatsara** of the Sixty-year Cycle of Jupiter, which by the mean-sign system of the cycle was current at the commencement of Saka-Saṁvat 971 current, but **by the southern luni-solar system** was coincident with Śaka-Samvat 973 current (A.D. 1050-51). In this year, the *pûrṇimânta* Pausha kṛishna 15 ended, not on a Tuesday, but on Sunday, 16th December, A.D. 1050, at about 52 *ghaṭîs*, 49 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay); and on this day there was no eclipse of the sun. But, in accordance with what we have now found to be the regular arrangement of the lunar fortnights for the years of the Śaka era in Gujarât, in this period, **the amânta Pausha kṛishṇa 15 ended, as required, on Tuesday, 15th January, A.D. 1051,** at about 24 *gh.* 28 *p.*; **and on this day there was an eclipse of the sun,**[3] which seems to have been visible in the south of India.

In publishing this inscription, **Mr. H. H. Dhruva translated** the words *amâvâsyâ-tithau sûrya-parvaṇi* by "on the day of the new-moon, that of the solstitial festival." But, that this is not correct, and that *sûrya-parvani* is only used, under metrical necessities, for the more complete and more customary expression *sûrya-grahaṇa-parvaṇi*, is shewn by the fact that in the same year the winter solstice, as represented by the *Makara-saṁkrânti* or entrance of the sun into Capricornus, occurred at about 19 *gh.* 31 *p.* on Monday, 24th December, A.D. 1050; which day is not in agreement with the given *tithi* by either the *amânta* or the *pûrṇimânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights.

J. F. FLEET.

THE SPURIOUS GURJARA GRANTS OF THE SAKA YEARS 400, 415, AND 417.

At page 56 above, I have stamped the Ântrôli-Chhârôli grant of Śaka-Samvat 679 (expired) as giving the earliest reliable instance, that I can

[3] Von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, pp. 216, 217 and Plate 108.

find, of the use of the Śaka era in Gujarât, in a date that affords details for calculation.

In doing so, I excluded intentionally the **Bagumrâ grant of Dadda-Prasântarâga,** which purports to be dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 415 (*ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 183 ff.), and the **Ilâô grant of the same person,** which purports to be dated in Śaka-Samvat 417 (*ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 115 ff). For, even after full consideration of the arguments put forward by Dr. Buhler in his article on the Bagumrâ grant, I cannot see my way clear to admitting the genuineness of these records; and of the **Umêtâ grant of the same person** (*ante*, Vol VII. p. 61 ff), which purports to be dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 400, but with no details that can be tested.

I have, however, no leisure to consider this matter from all the points of view that are concerned. And therefore, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji being now deceased, I hope that someone else will take up the general question. Meanwhile, I would draw attention to the following points :—

(1) There was no solar eclipse at all, visible or invisible, on the date, Jyêshṭha kṛishna 15, mentioned in the **Bagumrâ grant** of Śaka-Saṁvat 415, whether the year is applied as current, or as expired.

In the year 415 current, the given *tithi* corresponds, either to Tuesday, the 12th May, or to Wednesday, the 10th June, A.D. 492, according as the *pûrṇimânta* or the *amânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights is applied. The nearest solar eclipse was that of the 10th July;[1] which date corresponds to the *pûrṇimânta* Śrâvaṇa, or the *amânta* Âshâdha, kṛishṇa 15.

In the year 416 current (415 expired), the given *tithi* corresponds in the same way, either to Saturday, the 1st May, or to Monday, the 31st May, A.D. 493. The nearest solar eclipse was that of the 29th June;[2] which date corresponds again to the *pûrṇimânta* Śrâvana, or the *amânta* Âshâdha, kṛishna 15. And this eclipse was taken by Dr. Bühler as the one that is probably intended; with the suggestion that "the discrepancy in the name of the month "may have been caused by a mistake of the "writer, or by an erroneous intercalation." This suggestion would apply equally well to the eclipse of the 10th July, A.D. 492. But there was no intercalary month either in Śaka-Saṁvat 415 current, or in 416. And therefore it is difficult to see how the mistake can be justified, for either year, on that score at any rate; unless by some backward calculation, such as I shall suggest further on.

(2) As regards the date, again Jyêshtha kṛishna 15, and again with an eclipse of the sun, mentioned in the **Ilâô grant** of Śaka-Samvat 417.—

In the year 417 current, the given *tithi* corresponds in the same way, either to Thursday, the 21st April, or to Friday, the 20th May, A.D. 494 On neither of these days was there an eclipse of the sun, visible or invisible. The nearest solar eclipse was that of the 19th June;[3] which date corresponds to the *pûrṇimânta* and *amânta* intercalated Âshâḍha kṛishna 15.

If the intercalary month could be placed before Âshâḍha, this date would then correspond, in the same way, either to the *pûrṇimânta* natural Âshâḍha, or to the *amânta* natural Jyêshtha, Kṛishna 15. But, as a matter of fact, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds, by actual calculation of the places of the sun and the moon according to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, and also by the rule for mean intercalations, that the intercalary month was Âshâḍha, and no other; and that the intercalated fortnights must have been named Âshâḍha, as according to the present practice. Only by the verse *Mêsh-âdi-sthê savitari* &c., could they receive the name of Jyêshtha; and then the 19th June would be the new-moon day of Jyêshṭha by the *amânta* arrangement, and by that only. By no means whatever can the date in question be made to correspond to the new-moon day of the *pûrṇimânta* Jyêshtha.

In the year 418 current (417 expired), the given *tithi* corresponds, in the same way, either to the 10th May, or to the 8th June, A.D. 495. On each of these days there was an eclipse of the sun.[4] And, subject to the question as to whether an eclipse should be visible or need not be so, either of these eclipses might be accepted as the one intended, according as we apply the *pûrṇimânta* or the *amânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights.

(3) But, **a uniform process must be followed in respect of the two grants;** considering that the charters purport to be issued by the same person, and that there is only an interval of two years between them. And we must also see how they can be made to harmonise, **without any change in the name of the given month,** which is the point in respect of which there is the least likelihood of a mistake.

[1] See von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, pp. 162, 163.—It was not visible in India. But this point need not, for the present, be taken into consideration.

[2] This eclipse, also, was not visible in India; see von Oppolzer's *Canon*, pp. 162, 163, and Plate 81.

[3] This eclipse was visible in Gujarât, and in other parts of India.

[4] Neither of these eclipses was visible in India.

If the year 417 of the Ilâô grant is taken as expired, we have either the eclipse of the 10th May, A D. 495, which day corresponds quite regularly to the *pûrṇimânta* Jyêshtha kṛishna 15; or that of the 8th June, A.D. 495, which day corresponds quite regularly to the *amânta* Jyêshtha kṛishna 15. But, to match it, taking the year 415 of the Bagumrâ grant as expired, we have only one eclipse, that of the 29th June, A.D 493. And if, by the introduction of an erroneous intercalation, the new-moon of Jyêshtha is brought to this date, this can only be effected by using the *amânta* month.

Again, if the year 417 of the Ilâô grant is taken as current, we have only one eclipse, that of the 19th June, A. D 494. If, by assuming an erroneous intercalation, or by adopting the more ancient rule of the *Brahma-Siddhânta* for naming the intercalated fortnights, the new-moon of Jyêshtha is brought to this date, this again can only be effected by using the *amânta* month. And, to match it, taking the year 415 of the Bagumrâ grant as current, we have only one eclipse, that of the 10th July, A. D. 492. And, if the new-moon of Jyêshtha is brought to this date, this can only be effected again by introducing an erroneous intercalation, and again by using the *amânta* month

(4) Thus, whether the years are taken as current or as expired, the possibility of obtaining uniform results rests entirely upon the use of the amânta arrangement of the lunar fortnights, for a period in which it is not at all likely that this arrangement was used with the years of the Śaka era, even in Gujarât, supposing that the era itself was then used there, which I do not believe to be possible.

(5) On the other hand, the amânta arrangement is the one that, irrespective of the scheme of the year for the civil reckoning in any particular part of the country, was habitually used by Hindu astronomers for purposes of calculation. This is the arrangement that would, as a matter of course, be applied by the calculator, employed by the forger of a grant, to reckon back for a real, or possibly real, eclipse. And so, if we only refer the fabrication of these grants to the period when the amânta arrangement had permanently superseded the pûrṇimânta arrangement for the Saka years, everywhere except in Northern India and in those parts of Central India in which the *pûrnimânta* arrangement is still preserved,—in consequence of which fact, even if he had any means of ascertaining that the arrangement had been different in the period, and in the particular part of the country, for which he was calculating, the calculator might easily forget to substitute the pûrṇimânta for the amânta months in his results,—then, admitting, in respect of the Bagumrâ grant, an erroneous intercalation, or even a mistake of a month, either of which would be quite possible in calculating back for so long a time, we have a very simple explanation of the circumstances under which these grants were fabricated with a plausible approach to accuracy

J. F. FLEET.

THE YEAR COMMENCING WITH THE MONTH ASHADHA.

Some time ago,[1] I heard from Mr. Vajeshankar Gaurishankar, of Bhaunagar, that, in the western part of Kâthiâwâḍ. there is current a year commencing with the Âshâdha sukla 1 that precedes the Kârttika śukla 1 with which the Vikrama year of the rest of the Province commences; and that this year is called the Hâlârî year, as belonging specially to the Hâlâr Prânt or Sub-Division of Kâthiâwâḍ.

Since then, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has ascertained from a merchant of the Hâlâr Prânt, now resident at Bârsî, that, in addition to that part of the country, this year is at present in use at Amrêlî, Dàmnagar, and Jaitpur or Jêtpur, in Kâṭhiâwâḍ. And he has seen letters from Kâthiâwaḍ, addressed to the same merchant, in which, before the month of Âshâdha of Śaka-Samvat 1810 (expired) (A.D. 1888-89). the Vikrama year is quoted as 1944 (expired); and after Âshâdha śukla 1, as 1945 (expired). He has also ascertained that the same year is in use at Îḍar in the Mahî-Kâṇṭhâ Agency, about sixty-four miles north-east of Ahmadâbâd, and within a radius of about fifty miles round that place; but that there the year commences, according to one informant, with the amânta Âshâḍha kṛishṇa 2, and according to another, with Âshâḍha sukla 2. And in a *Pañchâng* for A.D. 1888-89, printed at the Union Press, Ahmadâbâd, he has found in the *saṁvatsara-phala* the passage — samvat 1944 Âshâḍh-âdi-saṁvat 1945 Śaka 1810 asmin varshê Śârvarî-nâma-samvatsarah agrê . . . . . Kârttika-śu-12-Guruvâsarê Plava-saṁvatsara-pravêśah,—" the (*southern Vikrama*) year 1944 (*expired*), the (Vikrama) year, beginning with Âshâḍha, 1945 (*expired*); Śa.. 1810 (*expired*); in this year (*i.e. on Chaitra śukla* 1). (*there is*) the *saṁvatsara* named Śârvarî [by the mean-sign system]: later on, ... on Thursday, the 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kârttika, there commences the Plava *saṁvatsara*."

These notes are now issued in the hope that they may lead to the collection of additional

[1] See *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 79, note 1.

information regarding the origin and use of this curious year; its initial day in different parts of the country, and the reason for any differences in that respect; and whether the *pûrṇimânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights is anywhere used in connection with it.

J. F. FLEET.

THE AMBARNATH INSCRIPTION OF MAMVANI.

In the stone inscription of the Mahâmaṇḍalêsvara Mâmvâṇirâjadêva, at the temple of Ambarnâth[1] near Kalyâṇ in the Ṭhâṇâ District, the details of the date, according to Dr. Bhau Daji's published text (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 219, line 1) are — Śaka-Saṁvat 782 (in decimal figures), not specified either as current or as expired; Jyêshṭha śukla 9; on Śukra, *i. e.* Śukravâra or Friday. And according to his translation, altering only the name of the other *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* mentioned in line 6, which he misread, the inscription records that, on this day, certain officials of Mâmvâṇi constructed a house of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Chhittarâjadêva; the concluding words being *mahâmaṇḍalêśvara - śrîma* [*ch**] - *Chhittarâjadêvasya bhavanaṁ saṁpâditaṁ.*

While, according to **Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's published text** (*id.* Vol. XII. p. 329), the details are—Śaka-Saṁvat 932 (in decimal figures); Śrâvaṇa śukla 9; on Śukra, *i.e.* Sukravâra or Friday. And, according to his translation, with the reading in line 6 which I have given above, on the day in question there was constructed a temple of the god of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Chhittarâja.

Thus, while agreeing in respect of the lunar fortnight, the *tithi*, and the week-day, **Friday**, all of which items were quite certain,—**the two versions of this record differ in respect of the month, and, by two centuries, in respect of the year.**

By calculation, from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, I find that—

In Śaka-Saṁvat 782 current, the *tithi* Jyêshṭha śukla 9 ended on Sunday, 14th May, A.D. 859, at about 35 *ghaṭîs*, 1 *pala*, after mean sunrise, for Kalyâṇ;[2] and Śrâvaṇa śukla 9 ended on Wednesday, 12th July, at about 25 *gh.* 12 *p.*

In Śaka-Saṁvat 783 current (782 expired), Jyêshṭha sukla 9 ended, as required, on Friday, 3rd May, A.D. 860, at about 16 *gh.* 34 p.; with the month Âshâḍha intercalary, as entered in the Tables, Śrâvaṇa śukla 9 ended on Tuesday, 30th July, at about 15 *gh.* 42 *p.*; and, with Śrâvaṇa itself intercalary, or any subsequent month, instead of Âshâdha, Śrâvaṇa śukla 9, of the intercalated or of the ordinary month as the case may be, ended on Sunday, 30th June, at about 52 *gh.* 8 *p.*

In Śaka-Saṁvat 982 current, Jyêshṭha śukla 9 ended on Sunday, 23rd May, A.D. 1059, at about 45 *gh.* 29 *p.*; and Śrâvaṇa śukla 9 ended on Wednesday, 21st July, at about 52 *gh.* 43 *p.*

And in Śaka-Saṁvat 983 current (982 expired), Jyêshṭha śukla 9 ended on Thursday, 11th May, A.D. 1060, at about 48 *gh.* 27 *p.*; and Śrâvaṇa śukla 9 ended on Monday, 10th July, at about 3 *gh.* 33 *p.*

Now, as regards **the merits of the published readings of this date**, each of which is accompanied by a lithograph,—Dr. Bhau Daji read the name of the month as Jêṭha, *i.e.* Jyêshṭha; and, in reading it as Śrâvaṇa, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji marked the second and third syllables as doubtful. But both the lithographs shew distinctly that, where the former read *ṭha* and the latter *vaṇa*, there is only one *akshara*, and that it is *shṭha*. And it follows that the preceding *akshara* can only be *jyê* or *jyai*; formed rather carelessly or anomalously in the original, or else not represented properly in the lithographs. As to the given year, the second and third figures are undoubtedly 8 and 2. The first figure is represented in both of the lithographs without any essential difference; except that in Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's it is rather more square and upright than in Dr. Bhau Daji's. And, in altering the interpretation of it from 7 to 9, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, while admitting that it closely resembles the modern Nâgarî 7,[3] relied on the arguments (1) that a similar "figure" occurs in the Valabhî grants and in them represents 9; and (2) that a very similar figure is to be found in the record of the year in an inscription of Bhôjadêva of Gwâlior,[4] dated in the (Vikrama) year 933, in which its value is distinctly given in words as 9. To these he might have added (3) that, in lines 4 and 5 of the same inscription of Bhôjadêva, in the details of the lands that were granted, we have forms of

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[1] This is the modern name of the temple, as given, for instance, in *Bombay Places and Common Official Words*, p. 29. In Dr. Bhau Daji's text, line 5, and in his translation, the name of the god is given as Âmranâtha. In his lithograph, it is rather doubtful whether the first two syllables are *âmra* or *âmva*. In Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's text, the name is given as Âmvanâtha; and in his translation as Ambanâtha; while, in his lithograph, the first two syllables are *amva*. It is evident that from every point of view, we require a proper mechanical facsimile, and a critical edition, of this inscription.

[2] The times here are for Kalyâṇ all through.

[3] The whole inscription is in Nâgarî characters; and it is of interest in furnishing one of the earliest instances of the use of those characters in Southern India.

[4] The reference is to the Gwâlior inscription, dated (Vikrama)-Saṁvat 933, Mâgha śukla and śu di 2; *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 407 f., and Plate ii. No. 4 (see *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 108, notes 24, 25.

the figure 7, explained in words, which cannot be taken as closely resembling the first figure as given in either lithograph of the date now under discussion; though they do belong to the general type of the Nâgarî figure 7 of the period, and resemble pretty closely the figure 7 as it occurs in the date of the Sâmângaḍ grant of Dantidurga, of Śaka-Saṁvat 675 expired, *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 112, line 30, and Plate. But, omitting this last point, his conclusion, on the grounds actually put forward by him, was that "the date can be inferred to be 982;" the only difficulty,—which he sought to explain away by the supposition that, at this time, there were two figures in use for the same number,—being, that a totally different figure, to which no value but that of 9 can be assigned, is used in this record to denote the number of the *tithi*.

In the Valabhî grants, however, we are concerned with numerical symbols; not with decimal figures, as in the present record; and no analogy can be founded on them, beyond the general fact that the decimal figures were developed from the numerical symbols. Further, in the process of this development, the decimal figures that were arrived at, were not absolutely identical in different parts of the country; and we are dealing with very different parts, in respect of the Ambarnâth and Gwâlior inscriptions. Also, not one of the lithographs of the three inscriptions is a reliable mechanical reproduction; so that we do not know what are the exact forms, differing perhaps very slightly, though certainly in some detail of vital importance, which we have to compare or to contrast. Again, even if two forms of one and the same figure were ultimately arrived at, and were used, in one and the same part of the country, it is still impossible to believe that the risk of confusion would be incurred, by employing them in one and the same record. And finally, whatever may turn out to be the exact form of the figure now under discussion in the Ambarnâth inscription, both the lithographs, even as they stand, distinctly shew that it belongs to the general type of the Nâgarî 7, and not to that of the Nâgarî 9.

With the calculated results before us, which shew that a Friday cannot be obtained for Śrâvana śukla 9 in any of the four years, even if the *tithi* were used as a current *tithi*,—for which application of it, however, there is in this case no justification,—on a consideration of all the facts of the case, it cannot be doubted that **Friday, 3rd May, A.D. 860,** is the proper English date; and that the real reading of the text is Śaka-saṁvata(t) 782 Jyêshṭha-śuddha-9-Su(śu)krê.

With his own reading of the date, **Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji,**—relying also on the fact that the Ambarnâth inscription mentions a certain *Mahâpradhâna* Nâgaṇaiya as an officer of Mâmvâṇi, while the other record, now to be referred to, gives the name of a *Sarvâdhikârin* Nâgaṇaiya as an officer of Chhittarâja,—proceeded to identify these two officials as one, and to suggest that, "if this reading of the date be correct," the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Chhittarâja of this inscription might be identified with the Śilâhâra *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Chhittarâja who issued the Bhâṇḍûp grant,[5] dated in Saka-Samvat 948; and that Mâmvâṇi was probably his son or successor. And, in publishing the Khârêpâtan grant of the Śilâhâra *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Anantadêva,[6] dated in Śaka-Samvat 1016, **Mr. K. T. Telang** identified Mâmvâni with the Mummuṇi who is given in that record as a younger brother of the Chhittarâja by whom the Bhâṇḍûp charter was issued. The similarity in the names of Mâmvâni and Mummuni,[7] coupled in each instance with the proximity of the name of Chhittarâja, was sufficiently tempting to justify this identification; on the facts of the case, as they were then understood. But we must now abandon these identifications; the first two of which plainly were in reality factors that helped to induce Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's alteration in the interpretation of the Ambarnâth date, rather than deductions from that interpretation. And, if Mâmvâni belonged to the Śilâhâra family at all, he must be placed very much earlier in the genealogy; and perhaps before Kapardin I, with whom the list given in the Bhâṇḍûp grant commences, and who was eight generations anterior to Śaka-Samvat 948.

J. F. FLEET.

BOOK NOTICES.

COLLECTIONS SCIENTIFIQUES de L'INSTITUT des LANGUES ORIENTALES DU MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES ETRANGERES. III. Manuscrits Persans, décrits par le Baron Victor Rosen. St. Petersburg, Eggers and Co. 1886. 8vo. pp. IV., and 369, with 3 photolithographs.

References to this work will have been met with more than once in the pages of this Journal in the notes on the Progress of European Scholarship. The Catalogue, it is hardly necessary to repeat, is a work of immense industry and learning, and in every way worthy of its author. It describes

[5] Published by Dr. Bühler, *ante*, Vol. V. p. 276 ff.

[6] *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 33.

[7] It may be noted that Dr. Bühler (*Report on Sanskrit Manuscripts*, 1877, p. 52) preferred to read the name in the Ambarnâth inscription as simply Vâni; *viz.* by taking *śrîmân=Vôni*, instead of *śrî-Mâmvâni*. But I think that, taking into consideration the construction in the text, both the lithographs are sufficiently reliable to shew that the real name is undoubtedly Mâmvâṇi.

minutely, with many an interesting *excursus*, the contents of 132 MSS., several of which are of great value. Most interesting of all is a copy of the *Dîván* of Jâmî, believed to be in the poet's own handwriting, and three illuminated specimens of celebrated works remarkable for their exquisite caligraphy. Of the latter may be mentioned a copy of Nizâmî's five poems, which is adorned with several frontispieces, and twenty-four vignettes. Five of the latter have the remarkable peculiarity that the rocks, stones, trees, &c., are designed so as to present at the same time pictures of men and of animals. The effect is said to be most comical. No. 130, a small collection of *ghazals* by different authors, is noteworthy as being a perfect specimen of the handwriting of Mîr 'Alî Al-Husainî, one of the most celebrated scribes of the 10th century. The collection of Bâbî MSS is complete, and gives Baron Rosen an excellent opportunity for a full description (with extracts) of their contents.

GEO. A. GRIERSON.

DIE HANDSCHRIFTEN VERZEICHNISSE DER KÖNIGLICHEN BIBLIOTHEK ZU BERLIN. Fünfter Band, Verzeichniss der Sanskṛit- und Prâkṛit-Handschriften, von A. Weber. Zweiter Band, Zweite Abtheilung. Berlin, A. Asher & Co. 1888. 4to. pp. i-x., 355-827.

The second section of the second volume of **Prof. A. Weber's Catalogue of Sanskṛit and Prâkṛit MSS. in the Berlin Library,** follows the first after a short interval. It is in every way worthy of its predecessors. The present work deals with **Jaina Literature** falling under the head of **Siddhânta** : Full particulars will be found in Vols. XVI. and XVII. of the *Indische Studien*, and *ante*, Vol. XVII. pp. 279 and ff. The third section of the volume, which deals with **non-Siddhânta Jaina Literature,** and which will contain the Indices to the whole catalogue, is in the press, and will be looked forward to with interest as completing this great work. The section now under consideration describes 155 MSS. with all the care and minuteness which distinguishes previous volumes. The twelve *aṅgas* occupy one-hundred and eighty-one pages, the twelve *upâṅgas* seventy-two, the ten *paiṇṇas* (*prakîrṇas*) fifteen, the six *chhêdasûtras* forty-nine, the *nandî* and the *anuôgadâra-suttaṁ* (*anuyôgadvârasûtraṁ*) forty-four. the four *mûlasûtras* one hundred, and miscellaneous texts five pages Notices are also given of texts which form part of the *Siddhânta*, but which are not in the Berlin Library, and of the *Siddhânta* of the Digambaras. The greater portion of the work has been read in proof by Prof. Leumann, whom the author thanks not only for the correction of several misprints, but also for many suggestions.

GEO. A. GRIERSON.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, Vol. XXIII. Report of a Tour in the Pañjâb and Râjputânâ in 1883-84. By H. B. W. GARRICK, Assistant, Archæological Survey of India, under the Superintendence of of Major-General Sir A. Cunningham, K.C.I.E., &c., Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, Calcutta, 1887. Royal 8vo. pp. IV. and 142; with 28 plates.

This twenty-third volume of the **Reports of the Archæological Survey of India** closes the series edited by Sir A. Cunningham. It is altogether the work of Mr. Garrick, and does not contain a line written by his late chief, and it is, therefore, hardly necessary to add that the volume is of very slight value or interest. It is, perhaps, not quite so bad as the notorious Volume XIX. by the same writer. Still, it is so bad that it is almost impossible to pick out from the text any fact or observation deserving of notice.

The following passage, however, if the facts are correctly reported, is of some interest to students of rude stone monuments :—

"At Kûchêra, about two marches from Nâgaur (in Jôdhpur State), I observed some stone circles which measured from 12 to 15 feet in diameter, but the peasants informed me that their occurrence was due to a favourite recreation of the Râjput youth called *tâhar* or *ewârs*. This game—the mention of which quickly divested these circles of a mystical, or indeed any other significance, and which may perhaps account for the origin of such circles in other parts of India—is played in the following manner:—A sufficient number of large stone boulders (some of which would take a strong man to lift) are first arranged in a circle, and this circus is called *dhânnî*, 'a small village.' The young shepherds then heave smaller stones into this mock village, and he whose stone falls nearest the centre of the circle, where, it is said, the fattest cattle of the village are kept, gains a certain advantage over his fellows I understand that the game is of very early origin, and it is locally said to be one of the *lîlâ*, or field sports, of the pastoral incarnation, Kṛishṇa."

This note is curious, but it obviously affords no explanation of megalithic circles, the sepulchral character of which has been abundantly proved.

I can find nothing else in the text which is worth quoting. The Plates are of some value, and include fairly good representations of buildings, both Muhammadan and Hindu, and a few inscriptions. Plate xxviii. gives a photographic reproduction of a squeeze of the rock-cut inscription at Tuśâm in the Hisâr District, which is included in Mr. Fleet's volume on the inscriptions of the Gupta period. An imperfect inscription of late date from Bhatinḍâ, badly reproduced in Plate xxvii., is wrongly labelled as a Gupta inscription. The scale of the Chitôr inscriptions, given in Plates xx., xxi., and xxv., is inconveniently small.

25th August 1888. V. A. SMITH.

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